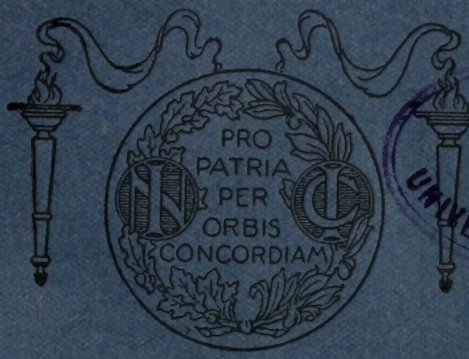
Inter-America

A MONTHLY THAT LINKS THE THOUGHT OF THE NEW WORLD



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INTER-AMERICA

THE purpose of INTER-AMERICA is to contribute to the establishment of a community of ideas between all the peoples of America by aiding to overcome the barrier of language, which hitherto has kept them apart. It is issued alternately, one month in Spanish, made up of diversified articles translated from the periodical literature of the United States, and the next month in English, composed of similar articles translated from the periodical literature of the American countries of Spanish or Portuguese speech.

INTER-AMERICA thus serves as a vehicle for the international dissemination of articles already circulated in the several countries. It therefore does not publish original articles or make editorial comment. It merely translates what has been previously published, without approving or censuring, in order that the reading public of all the American countries may have access to ideas current in each of them.

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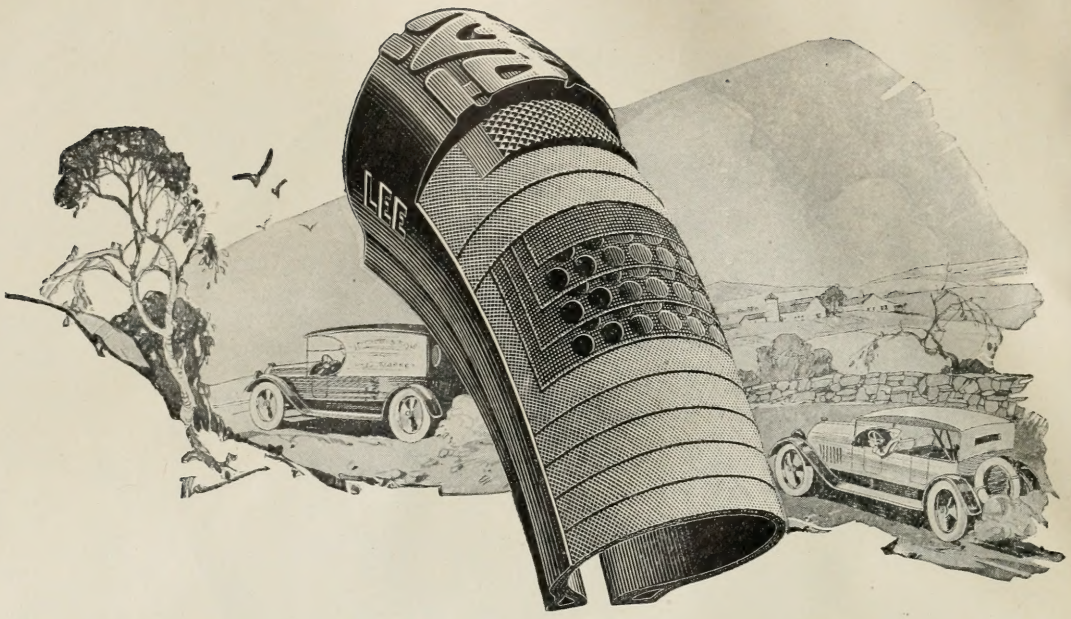

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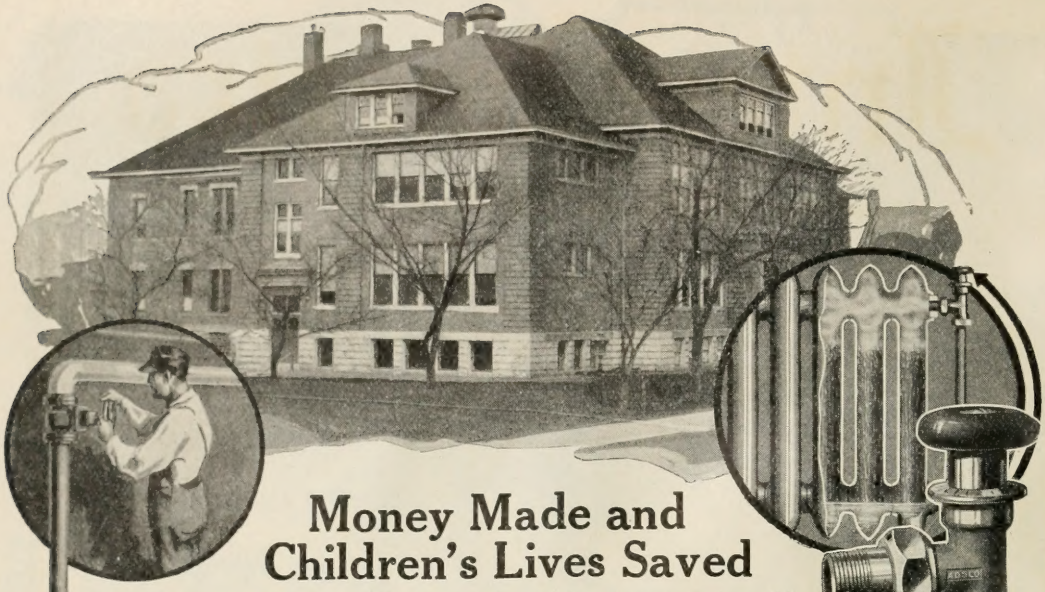

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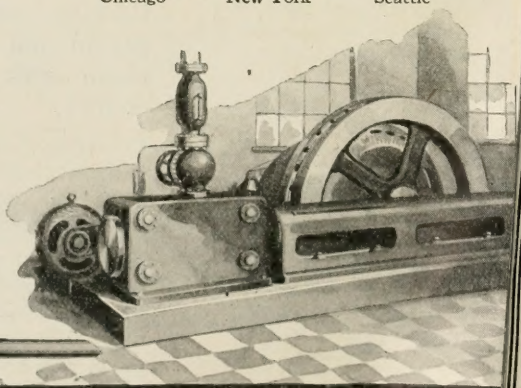

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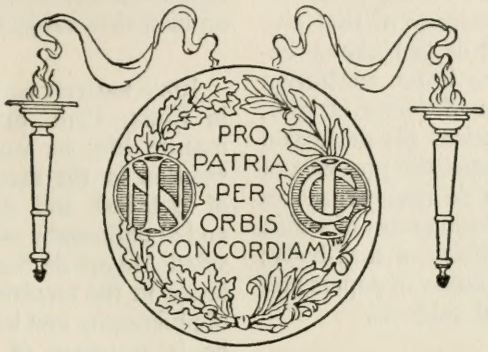

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BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

REGARDING THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES THAT APPEAR IN THIS NUMBER

RAÚL DE CÁRDENAS Y ECHARTÉ was born in Habana, December 24, 1884; he was educated in the Instituto of that city and in the Universidad de la Habana, being graduated from the latter institution in 1905 with the degree of doctor of laws; since then he has practised his profession in Habana; he represented the province of Habana in the Cámara de Representantes from 1911 until 1919, during most of which time he served as secretary of that body; he is the author of a number of papers and articles on international subjects.

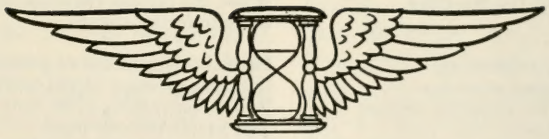
HELIO LOBO, who comes of a distinguished family of statesmen and men of letters, was born in the state of Minas Geraes, Brazil, in 1883; he received his professional education in Rio de Janeiro, being graduated as a lawyer in 1904 and practising his profession thereafter for two years; from 1907 until 1910, he served on the staff of the court to arbitrate questions pending between Brazil and Perú and Brazil and Bolivia; in 1910, he went to Buenos Aires as secretary of the Brazilian delegation to the Fourth International Pan American conference; upon his return, he was called to the foreign office by the Barão do Rio Branco; later, he was attached to the Brazilian legations in Buenos Aires and in Paris; in 1913, he came to the United States as the secretary of the special mission presided over by Lauro Müller, the Brazilian minister of foreign relations; from 1914 until 1919, he was secretary of the presidency of Brazil; in the latter year, he went to Paris as the secretary of the Brazilian delegation to the peace conference; after the signing of the peace, he was appointed consul-general at London, and in June, 1920, he was elevated to the consul-generalship of New York, which position he now fills; he is a member of many learned societies, and, among them, he is one of the forty immortals of the Academia Brasileira de Letras; he is the author of numerous important works on diplomacy, international law and international relations, and on historical subjects.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE LAVALLE was born in Lima, Perú, and he is just entering mature life; he was graduated with distinction in the faculties of jurisprudence, of political and administrative sciences, and of philosophy and letters of the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos; he is a professor in the faculties of jurisprudence and of philosophy and letters in that university; he is secretary of the Ateneo de Lima, a member of the Sociedad Geográfica and of the bar association of Perú; he is the secretary of the Sociedad Peruana de Derecho Internacional; he was one of the representatives of the Peruvian government at the peace conference held in Paris after the recent war and the first secretary of the Peruvian legation in that city; he has served as first secretary and as chargé d'affaires of the Peruvian government in Bolivia; and he is the author of numerous literary, historical and legal works, and of many and varied newspaper articles.

JUAN MANUEL POLAR was born in Arequipa, Perú, in 1868, and he has spent his life there; aside from primary instruction and a year of secondary instruction, he has educated himself; he is a professor in the Colegio Nacional; from his youth he has been interested in history and literature, and he has written half a dozen plays, and a good number of articles on historical, literary, political and economic subjects.

FERNANDO ORTIZ Y FERNÁNDEZ was born in Habana, July 16, 1881; he was educated in Menorca, Islas Baleares, and Madrid, Spain, and he received the degree of doctor of civil law from the Universidad Central de Madrid and that of doctor of public law from the Universidad de la Habana;

he has represented his country as consul in Italy and in Spain; beginning with 1906, he served for two years as public prosecutor in Habana; in the latter year he was elected a member of the Câmara de Representantes; he has devoted much time to the study of Cuban history, ethnology and psychology, especially in respect of the negro; he is a member of many learned societies; among his works may be mentioned *Hampa afro-cubana; Los negros brujos; La inmigración desde el punto de vista criminológico; Los mambises italianos; La reconquista de América; Historia de Santiago de Cuba; Los negros esclavos;* and *Bases para la organización internacional de la solidaridad de los estados ante el delincuente.*



PRELUDE TO THE MAMORÉ

By

RICARDO JOSÉ BUSTAMANTE[1]

Here windest thou in unfrequented regions,
Serpent of lustrous pearl, beneath such heavens
As seem a cloak of flame, whereunder stretches
The giant heron's flight;
River of silver, that, undulous, girdest
The virgin jungle, or in varied tinting,
Upon thy clear mirror, the tropic ether
Dost with its cloudlets paint.

At last thy fragrant breezes I am breathing;
I gaze upon thy palms the wind is swaying;
In thy forests I hear harmonious accents;
Thy quiet I admire;
O thou whom always in remote illusion
I saw, as a portent, that to my country
Wouldst some day open wide the gate of glory:
Health to great Mamoré!

I return from cold and isolate regions
Where the lone monarch of the Andes glistens
In his mantle of ermine, as a marvel
Of sheer, increate strength.
Thence, at the thrust of fathomless misfortune,
Toiling adown I come a weary pilgrim,
And when I see thee gleam across my pathway,
Again I breathe with joy:

A joy that stirs the patriotic spirit
To gleeful song, and brings it tranquil solace;
And so the exile now forgets his anguish
Beside thee, Mamoré.
E'en if my song be not like the singing
Of the great bards that roam thy favored regions,
It preludes in thy behalf all the blessings
Of the future, with faith.

In the fertile bosom of the wilderness,
O genius hid in solitude, thou murm'rest
'Neath the soft breath of the unsullied breezes
With laughter sweet and low;
While the patria knows not of thy existence—
As thou art unaware of human beings—
They worry themselves, seeking the arcanum
Of a great future fate.

Over thy mantle, liquid, undulating,
Shines in the heavens a star diamantine
Proclaiming a destiny fair and happy
To the national flag;
So brilliant a dream must find consummation,
Wavy river that rushest ever seaward,
Agitated by dawning aspirations
After undying fame.

To-day thou hastest, dragging ancient tree trunks,
Such as still display their emerald garments;
Or from the rushes of the verdant margins
Thou tearest tender flowers;
Thy majestic solitude is diverted
By chattering birds of variegated plumage,
Who in thee portray their matchless elegance,
Wheeling in turn above.

The slow *caimán*[2] invades thy sandy margins
The white *bufeo*,[3] cleaving thy dark waters,
Follows in the wake of the swift *piragua*,[4]
Or of a floating leaf;
Or from the farther bank a tawny tiger
Hurls himself down and swims with steady forehead,
Disturbing now the calmness of thy current
That man has never stirred.

Outspread at the foot of the virgin forest,
Like a lover at the feet of his mistress,
When the farewell rays of the sun are gilding
Thy tranquil, crystal waves,
Happy, thou delightest in all the perfumes
That upon the wings of the passing breezes
Are wafted thee from out her rippling tresses
By thy virginal love.

Solemn is the harmony of thy woodlands
In the deep nocturnal silence, when haply,
With a long and melancholy note, breaking
The solitude august,
The plaintive warbler and the drowsy zephyr
Lull thee to rest in a delicious slumber,
While the rays of the winsome moon, descending,
Illuminate thy couch.

Such thy hermit life at present, O river,
Gigantic gateway of the lordly temple,
Which, patterning after more prosperous peoples,
The patria yet will build;
Another world of life in thee is sleeping,
A world and life of sterner deeds in nature,
By which the patient mind of great Jehovah
Good fortune gave to men.

Thou hast slept the sleep of the heavy ages;
Ever unknown, in calmness thou hast glided;
In thy waves lay hidden the soul of action;
Too long has been thy night.
Man summons thee from thy secular slumber;
Let thy margins teem with beautiful cities;
Let *steam* mark its trails in thy virgin jungle;
Awake thou, Mamoré!

---

[1] A Bolivian poet and politician, born in La Paz in 1821 (we have not been able to discover when he died); he was educated in Buenos Aires and Paris; he took up his residence in Paris in 1839, devoting himself mainly to literature; some years later he returned to America and was appointed chargé d'affaires of his country in Perú, and, subsequently, as consul-general in Chile; among his poems may be mentioned, in addition to the verses translated, *Oda a Bolívar; Bendicion a mi hija Angélica;* and the words of the Bolivian "national hymn;" his countrymen have been pleased to call him the Bolivian Victor Hugo; he was a corresponding member of the Real Academia Española, apparently the only Bolivian that has been honored by membership in that body.—THE EDITOR.

[2] Alligator.—THE EDITOR.

[3] The name given to a large cetacean that resembles the dolphin, found along the Pacific coast of Perú and in the waters of the Caribbean and tropical Atlantic. The poet apparently availed himself of the poet's well known license to change the salt water animal into a fresh water creature, to alter his color and to plunge him into a river far in the interior.—THE EDITOR.

[4] A long, narrow river craft, larger than a canoe, made usually of one piece, or with strips of board or cane, and propelled by oars or a sail: used by the Indians of South America.—THE EDITOR.

THE PREPONDERANCE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE CARIBBEAN SEA

BY

RAÚL DE CÁRDENAS

The author studies the policy of the United States on the Caribbean: its precursors, its causes, its characteristics; he reviews North American intervention in Cuba, Panamá, the Dominican republic, Haiti and Nicaragua, as the result of the existing treaties, and in practice; he examines the censures to which it has given rise; he considers the economic factor in the relations of the United States with the republics that fall within her sphere of influence; and he examines the interference of the recent United States administration in the internal affairs of México, Costa Rica and Guatemala. Seldom does one encounter so clear, calm, moderate and instructive an article on a subject of greater importance to the United States.—THE EDITOR.

THE INTERVENTIONIST POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE CARIBBEAN SEA.—ITS PRECURSORS.—ITS CAUSES.—ITS CHARACTERISTICS

THE preponderance of the United States on the Caribbean sea assumed real importance with the signing of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, November 18, 1901, by which Great Britain renounced the right, which she had acquired in 1850, to participate with the United States in the construction and operation of an interoceanic canal. The renunciation of this right signified for the British government something more than a willingness that the canal should be under the dominion of the United States; it was designed to give to the latter nation free scope for the exercise of complete control over the West Indies and Central America. When the United States had once resolved, says Professor Latané, to carry out the long cherished project of constructing the canal, this determination imposed upon her the necessity of adopting the policy of protectorates, financial supervision, the domination of maritime routes and the acquisition of the naval stations of which she has taken possession on the Caribbean.

This policy, which we have termed "preponderance on the Caribbean sea," although initiated and developed in the now vanished portion of the present century, had its harbingers and initiators in the preceding century, particularly in the period that intervened between 1870 and 1881, during the presidential terms of Grant, Hayes and Garfield. In this period was effectively accentuated in the Washington chancellery a marked tendency that we shall call "Americanist," following the term of Professor Hart. In 1870, President Grant sent an official message to congress to request the annexation of Santo Domingo on the ground of the Monroe doctrine, and in that same year, Hamilton Fish, secretary of state, declared publicly that the canal ought to be constructed under the auspices of the United States. In 1880, President Hayes, first, and Secretary Evarts, afterward, reiterated this declaration, in support of the idea that the canal was to be regarded as but a prolongation of the coast of the United States; and it was in turn rendered effective the following year by President Garfield and his secretary of state, the illustrious James G. Blaine.

As soon as these declarations were made, they were unanimously accepted by public opinion. It seemed that nothing was lacking but a propitious occasion for the initiation of an energetic "Americanist" policy in the zone of the Caribbean. However, in spite of this, and of the fact that since that time, relatively so remote, the first impulse toward imperialism was felt, and because it was not an easy task to lead the people—attached, as they were, to their old principle of "isolation"—to the new order of things, it cost no little labor to shape public opinion to the policy.

Only to this is due, according to Powers and Jones, the fact that party spirit, from a mere desire to oppose the president of the republic, caused the treaty projected by the Roosevelt administration with Santo Domingo in 1905 to fail in the North American senate, as likewise the one projected in turn by President Taft with Nicaragua in 1911; it being overlooked by the opposition congressmen that the supervision provided for by these treaties was an affair of vital moment to the nation. To-day, these writers add, things have changed and it is regarded by all as a consideration removed from and above partizanship that the United States should not abandon the policy that has been thrust upon her, of maintaining a preponderating power and of assuming definite responsibility in respect of her neighbors toward the south. No one suggests now, they say, that the nation should abandon this control, unless she desire to endanger her very existence.

Having presented these brief considerations regarding the time when the United States began her interventionist policy, as well as regarding the resolution with which she is disposed to maintain this policy, we must now refer to the motives that led her to develop this preponderating influence.

The fundamental reason that has induced the United States to undertake to exercise a tutelary function in respect of the republics of the Caribbean is based on nothing less than a purpose to obtain guaranties of security abroad. This purpose was limited, in other days, to the upholding of the Monroe doctrine. The United States, in seeking to defend the Latin-American countries, was, in reality, taking thought for her own defense; it was her purpose to prevent any European power that might become dangerous to her from establishing itself in America. To-day the security of the nation is not sufficiently guaranteed by her attitude of passivity, as it may be called; but she requires, rather, for the protection of her great commercial interests and the preservation of her position as a naval power of the first rank, the exercise of a certain policy of predominance abroad.

This has caused it to be said frequently that the Monroe doctrine has evolved; that it was applied formerly to the defense of the Hispano-American countries, while to-day it is invoked to reduce them to vassalage. There has been no such evolution in the doctrine: it is the times that have evolved; new circumstances have demanded that measures of security shall not be limited to standing on guard in the face of external danger, but that they shall extend to taking, in advance of them, positions of advantage in the neighboring countries.

To prove to what point it has been necessary for the United States to assume these positions of advantage in the countries that are bathed by the Caribbean sea, it is worth while to pause in order to consider what this zone signifies to that nation under all the aspects of the subject.

The Caribbean sea is for North America what the Mediterranean is for Europe. Hence the considerations that led Great Britain to dominate Egypt; France, Algeria and Tunis; Spain, Morocco; and Italy, Tripoli; and that whetted the appetite of Germany, before the recent war, likewise to secure positions on the northern coast of Africa, may be deemed the same as those that have forced the United States to retain her sovereignty in Puerto Rico, to acquire the Virgin islands and to exercise a protectorate over certain countries. The islands mentioned and Cuba and Haiti not only constitute the best defense for the southern coast of the United States, but it is from them and from the two called Maíz, situated off the coast of Nicaragua and rented to the United States, that control is exercised over all the routes that lead to the Panamá canal.

On the Caribbean is distributed all the enormous commerce that the United States carries on with the Antilles and Central and South America,[1] and over its waters must

[1]When the author says "South America," he of course has in mind the northern part, bordering on the Caribbean, and the west coast, as reached from eastern and southern United States through the canal, since trade between the western coast of the United States, and the western coast of South America, and between the Atlantic coast of the United States, and Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Paraguay in no way touches the Caribbean.—THE EDITOR.

also pass the vessels—whose number increases from day to day—that communicate with divers regions of the globe through the Panamá canal. To deny, in the face of such circumstances, the importance of the North American republic's maintaining her predominance on this sea would signify ignorance of history and would be equivalent to denying that Great Britain owes a large part of her present power to the control she has been able to exercise over the Suez canal and other strategic points on the Mediterranean; that Portugal, in a past epoch, acquired weight as a world power mainly by means of obtaining possession of the cape of Good Hope; and that the chief cause of the recent war was none other than the desire of Germany to establish and hold a new route of communication with the countries of the orient. What is taking place with the countries of the Caribbean, says Jones, is what occurred with the Balkans and Asia Minor: their importance to the great powers of Europe consists, not in the intrinsic value of these regions, but in the fact that across them the orient communicates with the occident.

The political aspect is of no less importance than that which the subject presents, as we have just seen, when viewed from the geographical and commercial points of view. The United States invokes, as the chief purpose of her establishment of protectorates, the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine: that of applying it preventively in order to avoid grounds of conflict with other powers. In the case of the Platt amendment, Mr. Root said that its principal object was to prevent attacks upon the independence of Cuba; and in respect of the interference of the United States, first, in the affairs of the Dominican republic, and, afterward, in those of Haiti, it may be said that it was undertaken, in both cases, in pursuance of something like a mediation that tended to prevent a territorial occupation from arising from certain European claims. When the United States exercises the protectorate that she has assumed over these islands and over the republics of Panamá and Nicaragua in Central America, she is protecting her interests, but she becomes, at the same time—her statesmen say—the best guaranty of the independence of these republics. They say also that these republics, for many reasons, are not so important to any other power as they are to the United States.

There is a final aspect, which we might call the strategic one, to which we shall now refer, and which—far from possessing less importance than the aspects already mentioned—is sufficient, in itself alone, to induce the United States to strengthen her position on the Caribbean. The North American republic is not the only naval power that has interests on this sea. British Honduras, and Jamaica, which is one of the larger Antilles, belong to Great Britain; and in the group of the lesser ones, Barbados, Trinidad and other islands are also British colonies; Martinique and Guadeloupe belong to France, while Curazao belongs to Holland; and, although for the moment it does not seem probable that the interests of these nations will reach such a pass as to bring them into conflict with the North American nation, this circumstance is not sufficient to cause the latter nation to fail to prepare against the dangers of a sudden change in the politics of the world.

The peculiar position of Colombia and México, with coasts that front on both oceans, would also be a ground of disquietude on the part of the United States, as is observed by Powers, in case of an international conflict. These two republics, owing to painful circumstances, which, fortunately, have now passed, consider themselves, with or without reason, aggrieved, and they have not been in a good disposition for friendliness toward the United States; and the United States, which is not ignorant of this fact, may not lose sight of its importance, in case she become involved in a war with a European or an Asiatic power.

The imperialism of the United States has characteristics that are peculiar to it. To convince one's self of this, it is sufficient to compare it, in its origin and tendencies, with that of the nations of Europe. After Europe had become consolidated in a group of strong nations, none of which was strong enough to dominate the rest, and after

there was developed among them a peculiar situation, a state of equilibrium based on mutual respect, and the fact that each possessed the same rights—something like a compromise between the idea of universal domination and the autonomy of peoples—these powers, as if they could live only in a perpetual state of rivalry, carried their competition to remote countries. Taking advantage of the birth of the industrial system, with the resources it offered, especially for navigation, they became possessed of an overweening desire to establish colonies in all the regions of the globe, however distant they might be. They occupied all the territories that could be taken up in Asia, Africa and Oceania, and the American continent would also have been subject to partition, had it not been for the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine. From that time until the present, as Doctor Montoro[2] has said in a notable address, national expansion has been the chief concern of the great powers of the Old World, and the cause of all the wars in which it has been involved.

The imperialistic policy of these nations has had only one aim, that of dominating the import markets of the colonies, zones of influence or protected territories that have been its object, and of absorbing at the same time their products, always for the benefit of the mother-country and to the exclusion of the commercial competition of other nations, in some cases by means of monopoly and in others by appealing to the system of differential tariffs. France herself, which, in creating the vast colonial empire that she possesses, pursued a political rather than an economic end—since she only sought to find abroad something that would compensate for the defeat of 1870—has lowered for her own benefit the customs tariffs of her possessions, this reduction amounting in some cases to as much as fifty-eight per cent.

North American imperialism, in its interventionist aspect, which is the one to which we refer now—not to that other that consisted in the expansionistic movement by virtue of which were gradually added to the Union the territories that to-day form its enormous area—has not been based, unlike what has occurred with the nations of Europe, on any economic design. The United States has not extended her sphere of influence to the republics of Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Panamá and Nicaragua with a view to monopolizing the markets or to obtaining advantages for her commerce. Her object has been political: it has been confined to exercising over the neighboring republics a certain control, which, as a rule, goes only so far as the bounds of the necessary; and, although this intervention is addressed to safeguarding the interests of the nation, some distinguished North American writers say that it involves, as a consequence, guaranteeing the independence of these republics. In approval of the Platt amendment, our illustrious master Doctor Antonio Govín said that it implied no intention of attacking the independence of Cuba, but, on the contrary, that it sought to protect it.

We share these ideas and we recognize it as an established fact that the interventionist policy of the United States does not seek the annexation of new territory; but we must also admit that, in spite of the limitations of its application, the Washington chancellery would neither stop at means nor recognize any obstacles, if it should become necessary to uphold it. A good proof of this is to be found in the attitude of President Roosevelt in ordering the prohibition of the disembarkation of the Colombian forces sent to put down the revolution that culminated in the independence of the isthmus, under pretext that they were going to interfere with railway traffic; and the attitude that was adopted some years later by the Wilson administration in respect of Nicaragua, favorable to the revolution, and which, with the triumph of the latter, imposed as a recompense the celebration of a treaty by which the United States acquired certain privileges in the territory of that republic.

[2]Don Rafael Montoro, a Cuban lawyer, man of letters and writer on philosophical themes: he was born in Habana, in October, 1852, and he has occupied many important public positions, both in the government of his country and as one of her representatives abroad; he is a member of many learned societies and the author of numerous serious works.—THE EDITOR.

II

NORTH AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN THE REPUBLICS OF CUBA, PANAMÁ, SANTO DOMINGO, HAITI AND NICARAGUA, AS A RESULT OF EXISTING TREATIES, AND IN PRACTICE.—CENSURES OF WHICH IT HAS BEEN THE OBJECT

Although the treaties celebrated by the United States on May 22, 1903, with the republic of Cuba; on November 18 of the same year, with that of Panamá; on February 8, 1907, with that of Santo Domingo; on August 3, 1914, with that of Nicaragua; and on September 16, 1915, with that of Haiti, were in pursuance of the same end, that is, of securing the predominance of the North American nation in the zone of the Caribbean, these conventions did not contain the same provisions. It seems logical that, since "control" over Cuba was the first assumed by the United States, the provisions of the law that authorized it—that is, the Platt amendment —would be reproduced in the treaties that were celebrated later with the other republics; but an examination of the objects sought in these treaties, and which we shall now take up, shows that it was not so.

The provisions of the Platt amendment, which were the same as those of the permanent treaty of May 22, 1903, may be summarized in two groups: in the first group are comprised the provisions based on the Monroe doctrine and on the defense of the interests of the United States as a naval power; and in the second, those in which is conceded to the United States the right to interference in certain affairs, of an internal order, of the Cuban nation. To the former belong the two provisions by which the government of Cuba is prevented from celebrating with a foreign power any treaty by which her independence may be diminished or by which shall be conceded a footing in or control over a portion of the island, either to colonize it or for any naval or military purpose whatsoever; and by which it was agreed to cede or rent to the North American republic the lands necessary for naval stations. To the latter belong the provisions in which the government of Cuba engaged not to contract exaggerated debts and agreed that the United States might intervene for the preservation of independence, for the maintenance of a government adequate to the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for the fulfilment of the clauses of the treaty of Paris relating to Cuba; and in which she pledges herself to maintain good sanitary conditions on the island.

In the treaty with Panamá, whose object was to secure the grant of the territory necessary to the construction of the canal, the right to intervene is not so broad as that of the Platt amendment. Besides the obligation assumed by the United States to guarantee the independence of this republic, the Washington government is empowered to keep the cities of Panamá and Colón in good sanitary condition, in case the government of Pananá fail to comply with her duty, as well as to perserve public order, in the same event, in her own towns and territories and adjacent bays; also, as in the case of Cuba, the government of Panamá engaged to sell or rent to the United States the land required for naval stations. On the other hand, however, nothing is said with respect to the engagement not to contract exaggerated debts, or regarding the prohibition in respect of the celebration of a treaty with any foreign power that might diminish independence.

The treaty signed with the Dominican republic, February 9, 1907, was of a limited application. The government of this republic, after effecting, under the auspices of the United States, what was called the "adjustment" of the foreign and internal debts, and after raising a loan with certain New York bankers to satisfy these debts, the payment of the bonds of this operation being guaranteed by the attachment of the customs receipts, agreed with the Washington government by this treaty that the president of the United States should appoint a receiver and the subaltern employees of the custom-house, and that the public debt should not be increased or these rights modified, except with the consent of the North American government.

The treaty celebrated with Haiti is the broadest and most comprehensive of all. From the Platt amendment are reproduced

the clauses relating to the engagement not to contract exaggerated debts and not to sell or rent to any foreign government any part of the national territory or to celebrate any treaty with another foreign power that might diminish or tend to diminish independence, and the right to intervene for the preservation of independence and the maintenance of a government adequate to the protection of life, property and individual liberty; but, besides, others are included in which intervention attains to the most radical extremes. The president of the United States is empowered to appoint a receiver-general of customs, as well as a consulting attorney-general, in whose hands are placed the whole financial administration of the government; the urban and rural police service is subject to the direction and organization of North American officials, designated by the president of the United States himself, who appoints, besides, a superintendent of public sanitation. Furthermore, the government of the United States engaged to aid Haiti in the effective development of her own agricultural, mining and commercial resources, and in the establishment of her finances on firm and solid bases; but, on the other hand, while the treaty with Cuba is of a permanent character, the period of that celebrated with the Haitian republic is for ten years, renewable for another equal period.

In the treaty celebrated with Nicaragua, the United States limited herself to the enjoyment of certain strategic advantages: the right to construct a canal via the San Juan river, and the rental of two islands in the Caribbean sea and of the territory necessary for a base in the gulf of Fonseca, on the Pacific coast, to serve as a naval station.

The examination of the diversity of objects covered by these treaties and the study of their several aspects indicate clearly that the circumstances that have engaged the Washington chancellery have been different in each case, although the end may have been the same in all the cases, as we have already said: that of strengthening the interests of the United States on the Caribbean sea. In the case of Cuba, it was desired to assure for ever the intervention of the United States in this republic, in view doubtless of the close financial and commercial relations that exist with the island, and of its proximity both to Florida and to the Panamá canal, and of the command it gives over the entrance to the gulf of México. In the treaty with Panamá, the chief concern was with the construction of the canal, which was the same as that which counseled the acquisition of certain strategic advantages in Nicaragua. The treaty celebrated with the Dominican republic was addressed to preventing the danger of European interference; and in the stipulation with Haiti, which had the same object at the beginning, it was desired to afford to this republic the opportunity of self-rehabilitation by the acquisition of experience in self-government.

The examination of these international conventions does not complete, however, the study of the influence and supervision exercised by the United States over the republics of Cuba, Panamá, Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua. Regarding the state of things as they have existed in Cuba and Panamá, it may be said, in general, that it is in keeping with the legal stipulations established by their respective treaties; but this is not the case with the other three republics. In the Dominican republic, self-government has been suppressed; in Haiti, there remains only the semblance of it; and in Nicaragua, where the United States confined herself to acquiring strategic positions and advantages, the North American chancellery has come to take a decisive part in politics and finance.

This interventionist policy in the zone of the Caribbean sea has awakened a certain distrust, as to the purposes of the United States, in a great part of the public opinion of the countries of Spanish America, and the reiterated declarations formulated by North American statesmen to the intent that that republic will not avail herself of her superior power to destroy sovereignties, but that she utilizes it merely to assure her preponderance, has not been sufficient to allay this suspicion.

This undertaking of ours would be vain

and futile, if we devoted ourselves to criticising the tutelary function of the United States, in itself, as an isolated fact, for the purpose of judging of its goodness or its justice. Nothing is further from our purpose. The expansionist policy of great states is a phenomenon that involves both the strong and the weak; the former, as an exigency, as a condition, of their existence; and the latter, in disregard of their will, that is, against it. In the face of facts that speak for themselves, why resort to words? As Ingenieros[3] says:

> Political phenomena are not the result of the free selection of aims and means on the part of peoples and governments. . . . Strong nations consider themselves charged to exercise tutelage over other nations, while extending to them the benefits of their more highly developed civilization. Weak nations are wont to protest, opposing the word "right" to the force of fact; the means necessary to the exercise of tutelage may seem unjust, but history is unacquainted with the word "justice:" it mocks the weak and is an accomplice of the strong.

After all, we add, on our part, that the oft proclaimed equality of states has never existed, and much less is it feasible to-day, when new means and new circumstances daily draw more closely the relations of interdependence of all the peoples of the earth.

If, however, the task of criticising the causes that have led up to the tutelary function of the United States would be sterile or unnecessary, the same may not be said of the study of the means adopted for the exercise of this tutelage. This study will enable us to learn whether that policy is confined to the limits imposed by the necessity on which it is based, or whether it goes to unnecessary lengths, to extremes, the knowledge of which is of vast practical importance. Since it is impossible to enumerate all the charges that may be adduced against the United States in this respect, we shall refer to the most conspicuous.

In the first place, the manner in which this policy is carried out demands attention. An examination of it shows that it follows no plan, no long and meditated study of the subject; there is no uniformity; there is no indication of a definite orientation, a line of uniform conduct. Each procedure bears the stamp of the person that applies it; each episode has borne the impress of the will and the ideas of the one that, at the moment of its occurrence, has occupied the presidency of the neighboring republic. Hence it has been said that the decision of the Washington government is in each case an enigma. The commission sent to Habana by President Roosevelt in 1906, for the purpose of ending the revolution that existed on the island at that time, reached a solution that was in truth equivalent to a victory for the revolutionists. Three years later, when a revolution broke out in Nicaragua against President Zelaya, the attitude assumed by President Taft toward that government also contributed to the triumph of that revolution in a decisive manner. On the other hand, in 1917, President Wilson, making good his words uttered in a discourse pronounced at Mobile, on October 27, 1913, applied on two occasions his theory in opposition to recognizing such governments as might be the result of violence: once, in the case of the revolution of which Cuba was the theater in February, 1917, and again, in the same year, on the occasion of the *coup d'état* that deposed Alfredo González from the presidency of Costa Rica.

Another aspect of the interventionist policy of the United States, graphically denominated "dollar diplomacy," against which, with a real basis, there has been a unanimous protest, even in the United States, hinges on the fact that this policy has sometimes been placed at the service of private interests. The names of certain New York bankers are linked with the history of North American interference in the affairs of Nicaragua; and in many of

[3] José Ingenieros: a contemporary Argentine physician, philosopher and man of letters, professor in the faculty of philosophy of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, director of the bimonthly *Revista de Filosofía*, and author of many works. For more data regarding him, see INTER-AMERICA for June, 1918, page 258; and for articles by him, see INTER-AMERICA for June 1918, page 261: "The Sentimental Personality;" and for August, 1920, page 377: "Psychopathology in Art;" and for an extensive article on his *El hombre mediocre*, see INTER-AMERICA for February, 1919, page 176: "A Moral Catechism for Americans," by José Sixto de Sola.—THE EDITOR.

the measures adopted by the interventive power that rules with omniform faculties over the destiny of Haiti is reflected, as we read in certain important publications of the United States, the influence of the National City bank of New York, whose interests in that republic, already appreciable of themselves, it aspires to have increased.

Where, however, criticism concentrates its attacks is in respect of the present situation in the Dominican and Haitian republics. Inasmuch as the suppression of self-government in the Dominican republic, even if temporary, and the excess of authority which, supported by the existing treaty, the North American functionaries have arrogated to themselves in Haiti, are acts accomplished by the United States by virtue of her power, she ought to improve the opportunity, to contribute to the progress and the betterment of political practice in these republics and to coöperate in the strengthening of all their political institutions; in a word, that the same progress ought to be induced in the moral realm as that attained in the sphere of sanitation, instruction and public works.

Far from proceeding in this manner, the Washington government, by doing things in a way that is not in keeping with the antecedents of the North American people, their culture and the mission which, it seems, history has confided to them on this continent, has subjected these republics to a regimen in which individual liberty has been reduced to its most insignificant expression; in which civil jurisdiction has been replaced by military jurisdiction; and which can only bring a material peace of ephemeral duration.

These things occur, it has also been said, in the first place, because the people of the United States are ignorant of them: too deeply preoccupied with internal interests, when they fix their gaze on foreign politics, it is to give attention to the affairs of Europe, in so far as they may be of importance to them; and, in the second place, because in this case the president is the only arbiter; his authority is not prescribed, and he can proceed in every case according to his discretion.

Something more than the well-being of protected states—it is to the interest of the protective nation herself—demands that the interventionist activity shall assume a form different from that which has characterized it hitherto in these republics. If a nation that appears on the stage of the world as the director of other nations desires to develop fully her expansionist plans—said Doctor Enrique José Varona some years ago in a memorable address—it is necessary, among other circumstances, that they shall be dominated by and reveal a superior state of culture. England, he said, by way of example, has been able to maintain her vast colonial empire, thanks to the fact that she could always depend on men that have risen to the height of the difficult undertakings with which they have been charged, "from that famous Lord Durham, of grateful memory to Americans, to Sir Alfred Milner, whose achievement in Egypt has been marvelous."

It is probable that the present order of things will soon change. One of the charges most frequently made during the recent presidential campaign in the United States against the administration of the democrats has turned on their policy in the affair of Haiti and the Dominican republic, and as the republican candidate has been elected, it is logical to infer that he will adopt a different attitide toward intervention in these republics.

We should be unjust if, before passing on to other subjects, we failed to recognize that this has not been the prevailing character of the interventionist policy of the United States. In respect of Cuba, far from finding grounds for complaint, we have them only for praise. The aid given us by the government at Washington could not have been more efficacious, with this particularity: it is known that the right to interfere in our affairs—for it exists, according to the Platt amendment—ought to be exercised only in one of the stipulated cases—as that there should supervene for example, a condition in which the government of Cuba would be incapable of maintaining order. Nevertheless, although the Washington chancellery is given to interfering in many affairs that fall exclusively within our province, these undertakings, with perhaps certain rare

exceptions, have almost always been based on a desire to foster in every way the interests of our community.

III

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR IN THE RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE REPUBLICS THAT ARE WITHIN HER SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

We have already said that an essentially political design was the cause of intervention on the part of the United States in the area of the Caribbean sea, and that this nation is interested in the protected countries not so much for what they signify in themselves as on account of their geographical position. This is true in respect of the primitive cause, the origin, so to speak, of this intervention; but when intervention is once resorted to, and North American capital is invested in the protected state, with the guaranty of the protective government, this capital must contribute, with as great force as the political motive, to the continuance of the protectorate. The strict relation between government and private enterprises in the great modern states is a constant phenomenon, says Edwin Borchard, professor of law in Yale university. The idle capital that exists in a country finds its way into the region where it enjoys guaranties; this fact explains, according to Professor Borchard, the intimate relations that subsist between the minister of foreign relations of Great Britain and the British capitalist that invests his resources abroad.

The United States could not constitute an exception to the general rule. The political influence developed by this republic abroad had to be followed, as it has been, by commercial expansion, with a particularity: which has contributed to increase this fact and from which springs, always in a natural manner, the circumstance, purely casual, that the beginning of the interventionist policy of this nation coincided with the moment in which the needs of her internal commerce and industries were satisfied, and her business men began to think of the wisdom of investing their capital elsewhere.

A good proof of the part that the economic factor plays in the relations between protective and protected states is furnished by a detail of our history, which we may cite here. When the United States intervened in our civil quarrel of 1906, it was to recognize the rights of those that had risen in arms—as Doctor Varona said in a series of articles published at the time—because she did not come to make us moral, but to pacify us; she looked at the question from the American visual angle, and therefore she demanded that peace be made at any price.

The economic factor has this other aspect, which is of no less importance, from the political point of view, and the force of which must increase in proportion as commercial relations between the United States and her protected states become closer. We refer to the consumption of the products of the latter in the North American market. The people of cold countries must consume certain products of tropical countries: the American laborer's method of living demands it, an economist has said. When there occurs in the other republics what is happening to-day in Cuba; when the same thing is said of their products that is said to-day and repeated among us, as the expression of a conviction—that the United States can not do without our sugar—when this moment arrives, I say, the necessity that revolutions be not allowed to affect production will constitute a motive that must compel the United States, with as much force as the other motives, to demand that these republics live in peace.

IV

THE INTERFERENCE OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION IN CERTAIN AFFAIRS, OF AN INTERNAL ORDER, OF THE REPUBLICS OF MÉXICO, COSTA RICA AND GUATEMALA

What reason exists, it will be asked, for the interventionist policy of the United States to extend to the republics of Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Panamá and Nicaragua alone, and not to all those of Central America? The reason is obvious: the cases in which the United States has exercised a protectorate and supervision have

not arisen systematically. They have been established as the interests of that nation have called for them. In the case of the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, the North American government was affected by their position, inasmuch as they are situated off the southern coast of the United States, and by their dominating, besides, the routes that lead to the canal; and, in respect of Panamá and Nicaragua, the need to command and control interoceanic communication was what led to the assumption of supervision over these countries. The day in which any interest, be it what it may, shall counsel the United States to subject to her control the other Central American republics, there is no doubt that she will take steps to that end.

For the present, certain events that occurred in Costa Rica and Guatemala during Mr. Wilson's administration show that the United States observes very narrowly the destiny of these republics, and that she is concerned, in respect of them, with something more than a general interest, that they shall not contract embarrassing alliances with nations of other continents. The fall in Costa Rica, of the government of Tinoco who had ascended to power by means of violence in January, 1917, was due, in large measure, to the refusal of the Washington chancellery to recognize him, inasmuch as this fact, besides putting that government in a difficult position abroad, gave encouragement to its adversaries. The same attitude adopted in respect of Guatemala about the middle of 1919 produced, although in an opposite sense, the same result: the notes sent to President Estrada Cabrera, to suggest to him the propriety of his not thinking of being reëlected, unquestionably contributed in a decisive manner to his fall.

President Wilson's government has also interfered, on more than one occasion, in the affairs of the Mexican republic. His attitude in refusing to recognize Huerta, who, for evil or for good, legally or illegally, as Mr. Root said, was the president *de facto*, and in bringing to bear every factor that might contribute to his fall, was nothing less than an act of intervention.

It is improbable, however, that the United States will come to exercise control over México. Her population, her enormous area and the antagonisms that have been developed by certain events of other days render the case different from that of the islands of the Caribbean sea and from that of Central America. For something it has been said that imperialism follows the line of least resistance.

IN THE WAKE OF THE *MAYFLOWER*

BY

HELIO LOBO

The reflections of a Brazilian scholar, man of letters, diplomat, publicist and traveler as he approaches our shores by way of Europe. We are pleased to publish so appreciative an article as a salve for our often misunderstood, much censured, over-sensitive and not infrequently irritated national consciousness —THE EDITOR

THE pride of her country, *La France* plows the northern seas along her diagonal course from Havre to New York. The transatlantic steamer, with her twenty-seven thousand tons, her elegant lines, her luxurious saloons, her four great smoke-stacks incessantly vomiting smoke into the air in spirals, is a thing of beauty. On board, one encounters the monotony of all extended voyages: races of all the earth that rub elbows; pleasant and taciturn faces; ladies of the great world behind whose costly mantles are sheltered faces of snowy whiteness; American girls that are playing at tennis or dancing the fox-trot; diplomats, politicians, merchants; all that artificial world that the war demobilized and that is now driven to the four corners of the earth, absorbed in its own business and its own ambulatory fever.

There are five hundred first-class passengers, in cabins de luxe or merely in transit whom the *maître d'hotel* accommodates with difficulty at two sittings in the dining saloon, famous for the celebrated cookery of France. How different in aspect and life from the voyages of the great war, when vessels were few, passengers scarce and immense clouds enveloped the entire vessel, as a doleful defense against the submarine ambuscade! I am reminded of my crossing of three years ago on the *Espagne*, of this same line, in the opposite direction, during the period of unrestricted submarine warfare, under the command of a brave man, Captain Laurent, to-day buried in the sweet land of Normandy. It was the time of unknown misadventures, when humanity was rolling back from the pressure of German arms, and when the day of redemption seemed remote.

A month later, the United States of America also entered the war, and what her advent meant will remain an eternal memory among men. Her soldiers threw themselves into the strife like crusaders—the phrase is that of the leader, Woodrow Wilson—in the successive waves of an immense ocean, with no greater ambition than that of liberty for others and with no other shield than that of a pure conscience. A nation of Puritan origin, whose belief in virtue and whose faith in the resources of human nature were only equaled by an unparalleled material strength, brought her—along with the moral well-being that sprang from the consciousness of fighting in a noble cause—a warlike power sufficient to give the *coup de grâce* to the "omnipotent" adversary.

As was said by a great man with the head of a statesman and the fist of a soldier, George Washington, the mainstay of the republic in her beginnings: "The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality."[1] This maxim he developed in memorable words, upon assuming the presidency, when he said, April 30, 1789:

> There is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and courses of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal

[1] *The Writings of George Washington, 1785-1790*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1891, volume XI, page 385.—THE EDITOR.

rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.[2]

From the bow that yonder cleaves the waters comes a confused murmur, sad as a twilight litany and full of promise as a hymn of redemption. It is the hum of the third-class passengers, a poverty-stricken multitude herded together like cattle, which European misery, tripled by the sinister war, is driving forth, in search of work and bread, to the free lands of America. There are to be found Italians, Spaniards, Germans, Russians, Serbians, Rumanians—with a babel of all languages, and ragged and miserable—who escaped the mouth of the cannon in order to be left to perish later, resourceless in the trenches.

Just three centuries ago, the voices of other emigrants were heard in a sailing-vessel, crossing by this same route; they too were fixing on the distance the same gaze of hope. Religion had exiled them all, as one family; and, as a unique race, they were coming to attempt the formation of a better world, "a better ordering."[3] The ship was the *Mayflower*, and the passengers were the "pilgrim fathers."[3] When, the Atlantic solitude conquered, there appeared to them upon the coasts of Massachusetts, in 1620, the region of their dreams, they bound themselves together irrevocably by an oath before reaching the unknown land: that of renouncing, on the part of each, his most cherished rights, for the common good. They had sworn:

> We, whose names are underwritten . . . doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.[4]

There could be no more beautiful act of faith to be kept before a rising nation. About the little Puritan settlement, hemmed in on a narrow strip of the Atlantic coast, other colonies sprang up. Thirteen there were when they proclaimed their independence. By 1860, the number of states had risen to thirty-two; and, extending illimitably from the east to the west, in a superb growth, they have reached forty-eight: a land that spreads from ocean to ocean, with a hundred million inhabitants and a material power far above rivalry, it causes me to remember in the hymn of its people the source of the race, transmitted with pride from generation to generation:

> Land where our fathers died,
> Land of the pilgrims' pride.

In her tireless task, the keel of *La France* cleaves the waters that cling caressingly and foamingly to her sides. It is nightfall, and the litany of the bow becomes sadder still, as if vanishing in the distant twilight shadow. I behold the unfathomable sea, the infinite solitude, the limitless horizons; and my thought goes out to the humanity that eternally suffers and is eternally renewed, in its millenial march of hopes and sorrows.

[2] *Ibidem.*—THE EDITOR.

[3] English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

[4] *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606-1646*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1908, page 106.—THE EDITOR.

FRANCISCO DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES[1]

BY

JUAN BAUTISTA DE LAVALLE

Lima has been and still is one of the literary and artistic centers of the New World. Numerous institutions embody and develop public interest in the finer things of life. During our last summer, that is, during the southern winter, a series of tableaux was offered by a local organization of women, in which were presented some of Goya's notable paintings and drawings in living form, thanks to the abundant and appropriate human material afforded by the city. In explanation of the tableaux and to heighten and express the interest of the public in them, a discourse was delivered by one that had not only participated in the establishment and the organization, a decade earlier, but that was also familiar with the work and the environment of the painter, in which he gave a striking analysis of the artist and a vivid picture of his times. This discourse we reproduce in English.—THE EDITOR.

IN THE luminous and enthusiastic soul of a great lady[2] and in the spiritual environment of an admirable home was conceived the creative idea of this institution of feminine culture, which is to-day a full and beautiful reality. This dream of beauty was born with the distinction of lilies and swans that delight in the shadow of lordly castles and the murmurous solitudes of centenary parks. Who could remain indifferent to this noble desire for culture, this beautiful longing for spirituality? There were not wanting, however, in those now distant days, suspicious and sinister augurs or gratuitous insults, the offspring of prejudice or lack of comprehension. They were those everlasting forces of negation that were intended to overcome the creations of life, but that merely served as incentives to the more complete victory of the will. We were right, then, as we are now, we optimists, for whom the guaranty of the better spiritual and moral future of the enterprise was to be found in the intelligence, and, above all, in the heart, of woman. I have vast confidence in the correctness of her intention and in the powerful creative influence of her great sentiments; I have a vision of all that she is destined to be in the future of humanity, and high hopes that the advent of her true reign on earth will renew the moral sense of this heartless civilization, which is dying while thirsting for generosity, unselfish and human tenderness.

It will soon be ten years since I had the distinguished privilege of announcing the program of this institution, which was just coming into being, and to which it has been able to adhere so faithfully. Loyal to my sentiments, I obey to-day the desire of its progressive directorate that I pay, on the occasion of this splendid festival of art, honor to Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, who was, without exaggeration, one of the most remarkable geniuses of art that the world has known.

THE CASA PUERTA[3]

The Casa Puerta was in the heart of the Madrilenian mead, in the harmonious enchantment of the foliage and meadows of the Manzanares. Of the elegant and aristocratic garden, there remains only a silent fountain; of the palace, which was glorified by the brushes of Coello, Carreño and Jordán, and which belonged to the sumptuous magnate don Pedro de Spinola y Doria, duke of Sesto, only the vivid memory of its past greatness. "The gallant and pavanesque[4] court, in whose ears still lingered the sound of the romances of Farinelli, had in it an outpost of Aranjuez

[1] An address delivered in the Teatro Excélsior of Lima, Saturday, July 24, 1920, in connection with the artistic enterprise organized by the woman's library "Entre Nous," in interpretation of the tableaux that reproduced portraits and cartoons of the illustrious Spanish painter.

[2] Paquita Benavides de Benavides, who conceived the idea of, and established, the library "Entre Nous."

[3] *Casapuerta*, as a common noun and as one word, is used as the equivalent of *zaguán*, "entrance," "vestibule," especially in Andalucía.—THE EDITOR.

[4] An adjective formed from *pavana*, or from the English form "pavan," a very ancient and stately Spanish court dance, said to be of Italian origin.—THE EDITOR.

and a transcript of the Vesuvian valleys and the gardens of Tivoli. There were naumachies on the canal and illuminations on the lawn. Polychrome beacons shone in the feluccas of palisander and gold, with sails of silk and oars of silver, and the pleasing sound of courtly violins was answered from the other side of the river by the strumming of manolesque[5] guitars. There could be heard the laughter of a princess within the wood, and some archduchess, popular at court, let fall, as she entered the Casa Puerta, her handkerchief, which concealed amid its lace the treasure of a tryst."

It is growing late in the Casa Puerta. In the villa resound songs and *seguidillas*[6] to the measure of guitars. There falls the echo of a couplet that runs:

> And as the king is in want of
> A Spanish queen,
> He entangles himself in the mantilla
> Of a *manola*.[7]

In come women "with short petticoats and muffled in costly mantillas." At the door stops a calash, and from it descends the duke of Alagón, who extends his right hand to support a gentleman with an enormous forehead, subtile and glowing eyes, upturned nose, projecting chin, mutton-chop whiskers, raven locks over his temples, crowned with a formidable top-hat, his coat covered with the grave cape of Béjar cloth. Such is the legend of the Casa Puerta, in whose gardens and salons, "many feminine heads lowered their brows to love," and such was don Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, according to the testimony of that great ferreter of the secrets of old Madrid, don Pedro de Répide.

GOYA: HIS LIFE AND HIS ART

Are you acquainted with the Goya of the etched likeness done by himself? He of the subtile and malicious eyes, he of the haughty and cutting glance, with the enormous hat on his brow and the white stock that covers the wide collar of the Byronic Aragonese that he was? Being the most Spanish of Spaniards, he was able to be, at one and the same time, d'Artagnan, Cyrano and don Juan. The *romancero*,[8] the picaresque novel and the cape-and-sword comedy were mingled in his adventurous and triumphal existence, worthy to have been chronicled by Cervantes or Espinel or to have been rimed by Quevedo.

The spirit, strength and virility that coursed his veins and drove his tireless brush found their lineage in that great race of laborers and mountaineers whence he sprang; they were qualities that came from those solitary and tragic pine groves, those rough fastnesses, the haunts of eagles, which he trod during the unrestrained outbursts of his childhood. In the twilights that he contemplated from the summits and in the dawns of his native mountains, his eyes intuited the epiphany of light, the miracles of heat, the entire soul of nature, which speaks to those that have been born to express it.

Like Cyrano and don Juan, Goya had his legend. He was the center of a modern *romancero* and of a fable of romance and gallantry. Now he is escaping from Madrid, one of a party of bull-baiters; now he is pursued by the bailiffs of the Holy Office; now he is falling, stabbed, in a solitary alley; now he is scaling a convent wall to bear off the Roman doña Inés, and he is saved from prison by the intervention of the ambassador of his majesty of Spain. Bohemian and rover, he empties his purse; merry and generous of disposition, a swashbuckler and brawler, he takes up the gauntlet tossed to the public by a professional duelist. He goes from the palace to the tavern; he passes the day among duchesses and the night among rowdies, comedians and bull-fighters; he has at his tongue's end the latest epigram and he is acquainted with the most subtile gossip. In the Academia de San Fernando, he discusses the art of painting, and, with a

[5] Derived from *manolesco*, descriptive of or pertaining to a *manolo* or *manola*, young man or woman belonging to the common people of Madrid.—THE EDITOR.

[6] Spanish metrical compositions, popular airs or dances.—THE EDITOR.

[7] *Y como el rey no tiene*
Reina española,
Se enreda en la mantilla
De una manola.

[8] Collection of romances or ballads or of legendary tales.—THE EDITOR.

crowd in the Puerta del Sol, the new pass of Pedro Romero. Sincere and loyal in friendship, discreet and subservient toward women, kindly and prodigal with the humble and the needy, his soul is a mirror in which shine the innate qualities of a race chivalresque par excellence.

A Spanish critic has said:

To mention Goya is to evoke a whole past—tempestuous, picturesque, unforgettable—filled with lights and shadows, splashed with blood and smiling with light; is to recall the balmy nights of La Florida, the gallant *pavanas* of Rameau and Mozart, ceremonious cassocks, snuff-boxes and miniatures, contrasting with the hoarse roar of the cannon of Zaragoza and the rattle of the fusillades of Moncloa and of the salon of the Prado; is to recollect the taurine prowess of Pepe Hillo, beneath the glowing sky of Castilla, and hear the prose of Moratín in the Corral del Príncipe or the Caños del Peral; it is the Parque de Monteleón and the Pradera del Corregidor; the night of the riot of Aranjuez and the morning of the cowherds of Bailén; the farces of don Ramón de la Cruz and the *tonadillas*[9] and the *tiranas*[10] of Rosario Fernández; to call the name of Goya is to evoke a picturesque scene that has as its background the oak groves of the Pardo, and, as a protagonist, Carlos IV shooting at fleeing deer.

Goya's art is vigorous, sincere, fecund, diverse in its expression. Now he sings the exuberance of life and the palpitating beauty of human sculpture in that *Maja desnuda*, worthy of a Titian or a Giorgione; now he engraves with implacable truth his *Caprichos*, of a sinister realism, and now the tragedy of war. His workshop is all Spain—field, court, city—the Spain that believes and prays, that laughs and loves; bull-fighting, heroic Spain; pensive Spain; somber and mystical Spain. All that palpitates and feels, all that loves, all that sings, all that vibrates with the rhythm of life, has expression in his brilliant work, and in it lives with "the glorious life of color, in which consists the eternity of the dawn. Color! This is, in the last analysis, all the painting and all the esthetics of the painter's art and all the animate life that we perceive with the eyes, and all the landscape and all the sun."

GOYA, THE PAINTER OF PORTRAITS

Goya was one of the princes of modern portraiture. In the disconcerting variety of his work, we find the supreme elegance of Velázquez and Van Dyck and the intense spirituality of El Greco.

It was about the year 1783 that Goya began his triumphal career as a painter of portraits. He was at that time thirty-seven years old. His gallery covers half a century of Spanish history: from Carlos III to Fernando VII the "desired king," through the court of María Luisa and Godoy and the renovating disquietude of Meléndez Valdéz, Moratín and Jovellanos. In the free republic of his art, there are no exiles. In it are to be found the great equestrian portraits of the court painter, along with those of the simple friends of the artist: Pedro Romero, Tiburcio Pérez, Martín Zapater, "the big nose" of his delicious correspondence, and even *Tío Paquete*, the popular blind man of the steps of San Felipe; from the arrogant figures of Lord Wellington and the duke of San Carlos to the portrait of the partizan "*El Empecinado;*" Máiquez the actor, and Mocarte the organist. Side by side with kings and duchesses are to be found Rita Molinos, the bookseller of the Calle de las Carretas, and María del Rosario, *La Tirana* of the Teatro del Príncipe.

He was the painter of souls. With a surprising truth and facility, he expressed in color the inner reality of the spirit. Back of each countenance there is a disquietude, a passion, a life, an epoch, a whole race. Within the gamut of his gray and silver harmonies, mingled with tones of carmine and violet, like those of El Greco, think minds, sparkle eyes of intelligence, flashes life, and the portraits seem to wish to break the silence and speak our harmonious and sonorous language. We find ourselves in the presence of an unexampled power of truth, face to face with a disconcerting aptitude for penetrating souls and discovering sensuality, ambition, innocence, duplicity, fatuity and ignorance back of the fleshly lie of the human mask.

[9]Musical interludes formerly used with comedies.—THE EDITOR

[10]Characteristic Spanish songs accompanied by dancing —THE EDITOR.

We read in his portraits his likings, intimacies and tendernesses; his friendships and inclinations. Thanks to them, we could reconstruct the psychology of the great painter.

Goya was the friend, and he painted the portrait, of the Peruvian don Tadeo Bravo del Rivero, a knight of the *maestranza*[11] and the deputy for the city of Lima. The artist affixed to his canvas: "Painted by his friend Goya, 1806."

From a communication from Bravo del Rivero, dated at Madrid, February 27, 1810, we learn that, appointed *regidor*[12] of the municipality, he was instructed, as a person informed on the subject of art, to look for a painter to do a portrait of José I, which was to be placed in the council chamber, and the one that, in his opinion, would be the ablest artist. "Beyond dispute, don Francisco Goya is the one;" and "because of the advances demanded by the present condition of this skilful professor," to which Bravo del Rivero makes reference, it is proven that Goya did not continue to be, after the invasion, the court painter, with an income of 50,000 *reales*,[13] as he was under Carlos IV, and, later, under Fernando VII.

THE SPANISH WOMAN IN HIS PORTRAITS

Goya was, by antonomasia, the painter of the Spanish woman—dark, expressive and passionate—whose gaze has the seductiveness of La Cava, and in whose pupils shines the light of the eyes of the Arabs of the hot and luminous desert. Goya's *majas*[14] are the unmistakable sisters of Lope's Dorotea, his *La niña de plata* and his *La estrella de Sevilla*. He poured out upon them a treasure of elegance and grace; the captive of his models, his brush sang the enthusiasm and the fascination of the permeating tenderness of love. There all is spirit, and the material part disappears, imparting the sensation of a caress in colors.

The organizers of this select festival of art have conceived the happy idea of presenting three of these admirable portraits of women, and, to express them, they have found three adorable and authentic daughters of Lima,[15] worthy, by reason of their charms, of the brush of the talented Spanish portraitist.

The one you have just ceased to applaud, which Goya painted twice, is that of the beautiful actress, Antonia de Zárate, who died in the flower of her youth, and the mother of the poet Antonio Gil y Zárate, who, with the duke of Rivas y Hartzenbusch, was one of the great romantics of the Spanish theater. The second that you are going to have the pleasure of admiring is that of the charming little Manuela de Silva y Walstein, countess of Haro, a portrait of extraordinary delicacy and elegance, which awakened general admiration in the Exposición de Pintura Española de Madrid, in the spring of 1813.

Both belong to that same admirable period, in which genius and love, mingled and exalted in the soul of the artist, delighted to perpetuate the spiritual vigor of the *maja* most thoroughly *maja* of her times, the manolesque duchess, doña María Teresa Calletana de Silva, "whose soul was a gleam of sunshine and carnation."

To her refers Goya's letter to the confidant of his correspondence, his fellow-student of Zaragoza, don Martín Zapater y Clavería, in which he says to him:

> It would be better for you to come to help me paint the de Alba, who burst into the studio yesterday and was bent on having me *paint her face;* certainly it would give me more pleasure than to paint canvas, and in the same way I should like to paint her whole body. . . .

In the plenitude of their perfections, these paintings disclose to us all the spirit, the arrogance and the strength of the incomparable genius of the race, which, having gone to sleep with Velázquez, was born again in the brush of don Francisco de Goya y Lucientes.

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[11] A society of noblemen devoted to equestrian exercises.—THE EDITOR.

[12] Member of a municipal council intrusted with the economic administration of a city or town.—THE EDITOR.

[13] The *real* alluded to here was probably the *real de vallón*, equivalent to the fourth part of a *peseta*, and hence to about five cents of our money.—THE EDITOR.

[14] The plural of *maja; majo* or *maja*, a man or woman of the people, distinguished by his or her showy and somewhat overwrought dress, airy carriage and lively, unrestrained and sprightly manners.—THE EDITOR

[15] Señorita Narcisa Cisneros, as doña Antonia de Zárate; señorita Hortensia Cisneros, as the countess of Haro; and señorita Rosa Porras y Cáceres, as the marchioness of Las Mercedes.

CARTOONS AND TAPESTRIES

About the year 1745, don Rafael Mengs, an artist from Bohemia, educated in the classic theories of Winckelmann, whom Carlos III summoned to Madrid, exercised at court an indisputable esthetic dictatorship. Only the strong, chaste and rebellious personality of Goya was able to react against the conventional influence of the neo-classicism that dominated the artistic life of the peninsula.

Mengs intrusted to Goya and other painters the cartoons designed to serve as models in the royal manufactory of tapestries. In his youthful days in Rome, Goya had already painted the luminous richness of Italian life and the popular dress, the polychrome of the trans-Tiberian wooings and the licentiousness of the *lazzaroni*. The cartoons were vivid rustic scenes and painted pastorals, at the beginning, after the manner of the French pictures of gallantry: merry lunches in the open air, served on white cloths spread over the emerald of the turf; pretty gleaners that sing amid the gold of the wheat fields; traveling musicians, popular farces and dances. Through Goya's work and sprightliness, the Spanish people made their way into art: the young wenches of Lavapiés, the *majos* of Maravillas, the motley multitude of the Puerta del Sol; the beaux and *manolas* and *chisperos*,[16] who, as a decorative element, came like a flood of light and joy and color to the centenary palaces of Carlos V and Felipe II.

In the colonnade of the semicircle of the Petit Palais of Paris, which is a charming corner of Greece, I saw displayed, in the recent exhibition of Spanish paintings, the cartoons of the great painter, the vivification of which I was at once to witness on the stage of the grand opera, in the presence of the decorations designed by Zuloaga, for the execution of that masterpiece of musical *chasteness*, the *Goyescas* of Granados. They are not paintings; they are windows opened to nature: the animated and picturesque reflection of things and beings in our souls. In their environment are light of gold, poetry and warmth of sun, gleams of twilight and flashes of dawn. In them, love ripples, and there overflows the simple joy of living that has its inexhaustible spring in the popular soul: the figures sing and dance, laugh and play; there is, as it were, the clear ring of festival and carnival, the cartoon is too narrow for them, and they stand forth from it in a rhythm of animation and a veritable throb of life.

The Spanish master was a precursor of luminism. In the tapestries may be seen the same daring, the same creative audacity as in the colorist of the portraits. The blue tone begins to be replaced by the tender pearly gray; little by little the landscape recedes, life draws near and insinuates, and bold harmonies and chromatic paradoxes show themselves. Color designs disappear, and in the painting, which is only a gamut of shades, vibrates the spectral miracle of light.

THE PEOPLE AND THE SPANISH FESTIVAL IN GOYA'S WORK

Goya was an incomparable annalist: the annalist of the palace, the annalist of aristocratic and gallant intimacy; he was, at one and the same time, the great street and popular chronicler. It was not for nothing that this great student of the life of the Puerta del Sol lived; it was not for nothing that he was a friend of Pedro Romero and that he studied from nature, in the *cazuela*,[17] the *majos* of Madrid. He painted the Spanish people, whose blood and whose life he felt within himself, in joy or in sorrow, at work or in war, in the bull-rings or in the barricades of Zaragoza. In his painting of customs mingle the masquerade and the farce, the tragedy and the epic: as rich in character and as expressive as the Dutch painting, it is a fundamental document for the history of Spain.

It was the period in which the Spanish festival par excellence was developed and rooted in the popular soul; in which vocation came into being and in which was born

[16] A name given to the lower classes of Madrid.—THE EDITOR.

[17] Literally, "dish" (usually a round, flat, earthenware bowl): from the fact that it is used everywhere by the common people in the preparation of food, ordinarily in the form of stews of great variety, it has become symbolic of those that have employed it. —THE EDITOR.

the race of the great creative bull-fighters, whose new feats exalted all Madrid. "Francisco Romero conceives the idea of killing bulls face to face, brandishing in front of them a small *muleta*.[18] Costillares executes, for the first time, the *volapié*,[19] and it occurs to him to adorn the bull-baiters with showy costumes of silk, covered with loops and tassels, Pedro Romero, a nephew of Francisco's, with a restrained, elegant and serene style, was the founder of the school of Ronda; and his rival, Joseph Delgado 'Hillo,' brave to temerity, established the elaborate Sevillan school of lively and stirring bull-baiting, in which everything is grace and ornament." They were the days in which, in the royal taurine events designed to solemnize the coronation of Carlos IV, Pepe Hillo, wounded by one of the bulls, was carried in the arms of Romero, his rival, to the balcony of the duchess of Osuna, amid a delirious ovation to the wounded *torero*, the chivalrous *torero* and the duchess enamoured of bull-baiting.

In his etchings, sketches and drawings, Goya has perpetuated the animation and frenzy of the festival: its picturesque and its esthetic and emotional value. The public portrayed by the firmness of his hand has a soul, a mute and expressive air: in the grimaces of faces and in the fever of glances, we are enabled to contemplate all the tragedy and all the beauty of the spectacle that is developed on the shining sands, beneath the fire of the Spanish sun.

GOYA'S ESTHETICS

The greatest difficulties of painting—setting, light, movement—are overcome in a masterly way in the stupendous work of this Spanish master. Overflowing with subjectivity and realism, it is life that creates beauty in the crucible of the painter's soul. Rebellious toward all influence, toward every conventionalism and every school, he discovered with tremendous effort and tenacity the proper ways and means of expression.

After the year 1778, Goya was a member of the Academia de San Fernando. His personality, his esthetics and his traditional rudeness are summed up in the following words, attributed to him, which were pronounced before that body:

> You speak always of lines, and not of bodies. Where in nature do you behold those lines? I perceive only illuminated bodies, and bodies that are not illuminated; designs that advance, and designs that recede; reliefs and depths. My vision discovers neither lines nor details. I never count the hairs in the beard of the person whose portrait I am painting, nor do I fix my attention on the buttons of his clothing; and my brush ought not to see any more than I do. Those ingenuous teachers see details in the whole, and their details are almost always false and conventional. They would spare their poor pupils the work of drawing, throughout many years, eyes like almonds, mouths in the form of a bow or a heart, noses like an inverted seven and oval countenances, if they would but send them to nature, which is the only teacher of drawing.

There runs a legend that on some occasion, when he was irritated over the impertinences of a certain academician, who was incapable of comprehending the personality of his art, he interrupted him by saying: "Regarding myself, what is incumbent on you is to say nothing. When you have head enough to wear this hat, we shall proceed to discuss," while at the same time he brought down his fist with a blow that drove the other's formidable and popular top-hat over his shoulders.

He was not slandering himself then when he wrote to Zapater, regarding the alternations of his genius: "Sometimes raging in a humor that even I myself can not endure, and at others better tempered."

LOS CAPRICHOS

Goya perceived the full meaning of the great revolution which, beyond the Pyrenees, had stirred France, and in his friendship with Meléndez Valdés and Jovellanos he knew all the desire for reform that was cherished by these intellectuals, who soon captivated his passionate mind. Seeking a more direct and efficacious instrument for the free expression of

[18] A walking-stick or staff from which hangs, attached along one side, a piece of cloth, usually scarlet, with which the *torero* beguiles the bull and causes him to lower his head, in order that he may make the deadly thrust between the shoulders.—THE EDITOR.

[19] A trick in bull-baiting that consists in wounding the bull, which is standing, while the *torero* is in motion.—THE EDITOR.

his fancy and the noble disquietude that he harbored in his soul, he took up the burin, and then appears the etcher of *Los caprichos* (The Caprices), implacable, grotesque, ferocious criticism of customs, which made of him an utter reformer. Art had purified and ennobled his sensibility and his passions. Deaf, like Beethoven, his contemporary, he centered his attention closely upon his inner world. When he issued from it, he was a Juvenal and a Hugo. Fanaticism, incontinence, servility, venality and hypocrisy received formidable drubbings. An apocalyptic and renovating blast surged through *Los caprichos*. Every one of their monsters and beasts has a symbolic value and a human semblance. All the episodes and scandals of that "war of laces," between the courtly groups captained by the duchess of Alba and the duchess of Osuna, appear in that immortal chronicle.

GOYA AND WAR

The artist suffered the pangs of witnessing the invasion of his country. The war, which he saw so close at hand, caused him to think deep and distressing things. His eyes beheld the agony of the wounded that fought with the carrion-crows at dusk on the field of battle; arms that were raised to heaven in the paroxysm of a futile desperation; mothers shot by the soldiery while grasping the bodies of their sons. Through the medium of the creations of his burin and his brush, he has enabled us to discern the somber reflections of his soul: how fragile a thing is civilization; how near lurks the rudest barbarity; and how fierce an animal man still is! Like Rubens, in that allegory of war to which he attached the legend, "This sorrowing woman is my poor country, ruined by the furies of war," and like Callot, in his frightful scenes of the Thirty Years' war, Goya, always sincere, did not wish to make of war the conventional picture of the painters of battles and military glories. Enamoured of life, he rebelled against the homicidal delirium and the insanity of sanguinary violence, and he protested against and cursed it with the apostolic and descriptive power of a Tolstoi or a Barbusse. A sinister humor is that of the terrible etching that represents a battle-field, covered with corpses, beneath which he wrote: "It matters not; for this you were born!"

FROM SYMBOLISM TO MYSTICISM

Goya, artist and thinker, thou didst say: "The dreams of reason produce monsters." The infinite torment of thy soul engendered that *Saturno devorando a sus hijos* (Saturn Devouring His Children) and that *Casa de locos* (Madhouse). Sublime pages of sorrow and mystery, worthy of Dante and of Shakespeare! The optimist has been conquered, and the engravings and paintings of the gifted artist at this period of his life constitute the most tragic and frigid summits of inner desolation.

The bitter and glacial humorist sought a serene and loving refuge in mysticism. Only in the world of the spirit and of faith did he find freedom and hope, and he came, like El Greco, to be a fervid brother of the Luises and of Teresa de Jesús. The realistic and pagan decorator of the chapel of San Antonio de la Florida was succeeded by the admirable mystic of *La comunión de San José de Calasanz*.

How far are we from the Goya of the tapestries and the *majas*, and how little known is this Goya tormented by a great disquietude, by a generous human obsession, which penetrated the profoundest depths of mystery!

GOYA AND THE SPANISH WOMAN'S DRESS

The last of Goya's portraits presented us by the program is the one catalogued under the name of the marchioness of Las Mercedes: a very sprightly young woman with flashing eyes. The charm of the countenance stands out from the admirable setting formed by the black mantilla, one of those Goyesque mantillas, in whose blond-lace are entangled many glances of fops and *chisperos*. Going to mass at San Cayetano, she would have smiled as she trod proudly with her tiny feet the scarlet cape that Pedro Romero would have spread for her on the summit of the Rivera de Curtidores.

Goya's portraits exhibit all the picturesque variations of the Spanish woman's dress: Queen María Luisa, with her pom-

pous farthingale, worthy of the court of Felipe IV and of those portraits in which Velázquez immortalized doña Marina de Austria, at a time when the farthingales of Versailles had replaced the somber skirts of the queens of other years; duchesses and marchionesses in the dress of the Trianon, light as flecks of snow, "with an illusion of tulle, with a diaphanous tunic of Milan point," hair dressed "with the hollow coiffure that had been disarranged on so many other heads by the guillotine." He painted the queen and the courtezans in black *basquiñas*[20] of silk, orange blouses, mantillas of blond-lace, light-colored bows on heads of black hair, white embroidered shoes with high heels; in the *majo* and popular dress, which he loved, so brilliant and alluring that an austere pragmatism took it on itself to prohibit it later. These portraits are in the great painter's chastest style. In them appear the couplets and the gallantry, the *seguidillas* and the guitars: they possess the flavor of the roses of the Buen Retiro, the carnations of Moncloa and the sweet basil of Lavapiés.

TOWARD A GLORIOUS TWILIGHT

About the year 1826, an octogenarian—still vigorous, with an intensely expressive physiognomy and a kindly but melancholy mien, beneath an ample and furrowed brow, crowned with gray hair—went about the streets of Madrid leaning on a young arm. They were Goya the father and his son. More than once they prolonged their walks in the afternoon sun, and, issuing from La Villa y Corte, they descended the Cuesta de la Vega and, crossing the Puente Segoviana, they reached the hill on which stood the country-seat that was the refuge of the painter: "La Quinta del Padre Goya," or, as it was known in the neighborhood, "La Quinta del Sordo" (The Country-Seat of the Deaf Man). Répide relates:

> The ancient palace has a noble and imposing doorway. Its entrance admits to view, through its grilled lattice, the vestibule and the stairway. Over the ironwork of the doorway is a ducal blazon; next, a pavement of reddish porphyry; and beyond, after a few steps of marble, the stairway divides into several elegant branches. A jar of the eighteenth century, which has companion-pieces in La Granja and Aranjuez, graces the spot. In front of the house, where of old there was a terrace of very fine sand, trodden by the manolesque duchesses, who came there to render themselves immortal and divine, by having their images annointed with the oil of genius, the grass of oblivion now spreads its soft carpet.

From its windows, the painter obtained a wide view of the city, which was the theater of his triumphs and adventures, and of the charming landscape, worthy of the eclogues of Garcilaso, and in the depths of which might be divined the Guadarrama, which Velázquez and Goya introduced into the backgrounds of their portraits filled with poetry and soft light.

An admirable life, that of this mountaineer, who was a sturdy Titan of art. His work is a marvel of fecundity. Without collaborators or disciples, he left more than six hundred canvases, five hundred drawings and studies, and nearly two hundred and fifty engravings and lithographs. A man that was ever learning and one that lived by self-renewal, he was, at the age of seventy, like an impetuous youth; his life was a force driven by an ever increasing longing for perfection and spirituality.

When nothing could hold him in a Spain dominated by political intranquillity and struggle over the constitution, and when his friends were banished and expatriated for their ideas, he, always curious about France, set out for Paris. . . and in Paris he painted at the age of seventy-eight years.

The correspondence between Moratín, a fugitive in Bordeaux, and his friend don Juan Antonio Melón contains precious items regarding the last years of the famous painter. "Goya came, indeed," he says in it, "blind, old, slow and without knowing a word of French and without having a servant, and so happy and filled with a desire to see the world. . . ." In April, 1825, Moratín wrote: "Goya, with his seventy-nine Easters and his ailments, knows neither what he expects nor what he wishes. . . . At times he takes it into his head that he has much to do in Madrid; and if they would let him, he would set

[20] Upper skirts.—THE EDITOR.

out on his chestnut mule with his cap, his cape, his walnut stirrups, his wine sack and his saddle-bags." Later on, in the same delightful correspondence, we read: "Goya escaped this time from avid Acheron: he is very much set up, and he is painting like the devil. . . . " "He says that he has engaged in bull-baiting in his day, and that with sword in hand he fears no one. Within two months he is going to round out eighty years."

Indeed, the portrait of the French Jacques Galos exhibits this beautiful inscription: "Painted by Goya, at the age of eighty years, in 1826," and later still he painted the very notable portrait of don Juan de Muguiri e Irribarren of Navarra—a refugee in Bordeaux on account of his liberal ideas—which constitutes the painter's artistic last will and testament.

Goya wrote at that time to his friend don Joaquín María Ferrer in Paris, later (in 1841) president of the Consejo de Ministros of Spain, whose portrait he had painted two years before, during his visit to Paris: "Be very grateful to me for these badly formed letters, for I lack sight, pulse, pen and ink, and there remains to me nothing but will:" a lesson in energy that characterized his whole existence, and one that he expressed with genius in a drawing of his last period. It is a very old man with a long beard, leaning on two walking-sticks: painfully he advances, always impelled by the ardor of an inner flame. The hand of Goya, tremulous now, traced on it this inscription, which may serve as a device—"I still learn"—as if to say: "In the triumphant impetuosity of my life, I have always sought and longed for a Beyond."

Such was this glorious Spaniard, in his life and in his work: the supreme and essential expression of the race, and one of its purest and most authentic values.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL LAW

PAN AMERICANISM

By

FEDERICO S. DE TEJADA

The author holds, as a general thesis, that the American nations should understand one another, get together and coöperate for all the ends of civilization. The day has passed, he thinks, when there were any real grounds for suspicion or antagonism. In tracing the development of the Pan American idea, he reaches the conclusion that at the beginning the United States doctrine of *uti possidetis* created dissension and prevented federation on the part of the Hispano-American peoples, and that when the United States became strong enough to fear no rivalry or menace by the possible union of the southern peoples, she then desired to share the hegemony and responsibility of the continent with the other American nations. He recognizes that a recent president of the United States defined the term "Pan American," and that his secretary of state indicated a certain address of that president's as an official definition of it; but he holds that these are not authoritative, and he suggests that the situation demands an explicit definition of the doctrine and of the attitude of the United States toward the other American nations by the only body authorized to define the policy of the United States: the congress.—THE EDITOR.

NOW that Columbian America is free of ancestral prejudices of race and parchment, which have no reason for being in democracies, and filled with generous longings for peace through justice, the hundred and eighty millions that form the American family cherish naturally and spontaneously a sense of the brilliant part she is destined to play in the civilization of the world.

The Pan American conferences held in Washington, México, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro not only enabled certain delegates to exercise their gastronomico-oratorical faculties, and others the eloquence of silence, as a writer has said, but they brought to light the similarity of the political, economic, financial and social problems of the countries of the world discovered by Columbus, and they revealed the American psychology.

Brothers by race, by the use of the divine Castilian language—as Victor Hugo called it—by religion and by customs, in the agonizing hours of trial, there has vibrated in unison the fiber of continental solidarity, which, although limited to the doctrine of Monroe and its applications until the end of the last century, at the present time it has grown and taken on gigantic proportions until it has come to constitute a very essential part of their public international law.

In 1902, in a moment of expectancy and anxiety, in which, because of the intervention of certain European powers, the autonomy of Venezuela was threatened, the Argentine republic, which has always been distinguished for her broad and noble Pan American views, with the unanimous applause of the peoples, made her own the immortal Drago doctrine, which was designed to preserve the existence of the Latin nations. With the appearance of the saving principle that informs her, the great South American republic, and her eminent writer, Doctor don Luis María Drago, rendered themselves worthy of the gratitude of the Hispano-American peoples and established on better bases the splendid edifice of American solidarity.

The North American doctrine of *uti possidetis* of 1810 was prejudicial to the development of the confraternity of the peoples of the continent. "The confederation of the Latin-American nations," said the Cuban publicist, don Fernando Berenguer, in his notable work, *El hispano-americanismo*, "was a subject that was set aside as soon as they accepted the *uti possidetis* of 1810, because, according to that doctrine, every nation of America had to adhere to the same territorial boundaries as those that had been maintained by the mother-country; and as these boundaries were undefined when the nations in question were Spanish colonies and formed a single colonial empire, the

demarkation of them was to give rise to the succession of litigations that have arisen, and which have not yet ended, for the purpose of determining their frontiers."

The confederation failed of realization because of the intestine struggles that arose over the question of the boundaries that separated the nations; and the source of this fratricidal strife was the doctrine of *uti possidetis* promulgated and upheld by the United States.

> The South American confederation—granted the importance and territorial extent of the new independent states—would have been stronger than the North American confederation, and this was not in harmony with the interests of the republic of the north, which had given to the states of the south their political regimen and which now undertook to impose her creed of domination in America.[1]

Farther on, the illustrious statesman of the Antilles added:

> If the United States had lent her support to the South American confederation, the latter would have been able to accomplish, beginning with that period, the work of Pan Americanism. It did not suit her to do so then, however, because the confederation of all the Latin nations at that time would have been stronger than that of the thirteen small states that composed the North American confederation. As may be seen, the United States was opposed to the Latin union that she now fosters with so much interest, while the Latins labored for this union; for at that time Pan Americanism was not in accord with the political plans of the United States; while to-day, her share being the larger, on account of the number of small nations that have been created under her protection, and of the conquest of the new territories that she has acquired, she considers herself strong enough to impose her policy of predominance in America.

The United States, aware of the insufficiency of Pan American conferences and of the necessity of allaying the distrust of her policy because of her exercise of uncontrolled hegemony—the Chilean internationalist, Doctor Alejandro Álvarez, insinuates—has shown a desire to have the states of Latin America share with her the exercise of this hegemony.

One eminent statesman of great moral and intellectual worth, Doctor Woodrow Wilson, interpreting the true ideas and sentiments of the American people, following the luminous and beautiful standard of conduct proclaimed by Washington in his memorable farewell address, has given vigor to the principle of continental solidarity. President Wilson—according to Doctor Santiago Pérez Triana, whose death is sufficiently lamented by the friends of international law—has proclaimed from the lofty eminence he occupies that the moral law for the statesman, as for the individual, ought to be justice, and not expediency. Doctor Wilson was not content with words: he went on to deeds. His fellow-citizens saw this when, appealing to the national honor, he succeeded in having repealed the law of the Panamá canal tolls, which was one of expediency, and not of equity. So too they understood it in the treaty of April 6, 1914, by which the wrong done to Colombia by the Roosevelt administration was to be remedied, "as far as may be humanly possible." With justice therefore has Doctor Wilson been called "the apostle of moral law and the upholder of the sincerest Pan Americanism."[2]

President Wilson, in his address delivered at Mobile, in October, 1913, which made a favorable impression throughout America, said, in the name of the American nation, that thenceforward the United States would never acquire any territory in America by means of war or conquest.

As a result of the difficulties that arose between the United States and México, a new opportunity presented itself to President Wilson to demonstrate to the world the desire that actuated his government to establish relations of sincere respect and mutual cordiality between the United States and the American peoples of Spanish speech. The representatives of Argentina, Brazil and Chile, duly empowered

[1] *El hispano-americanismo*, Habana, 1918.

[2] This is the true meaning of Pan Americanism, and it is not, as certain others believe, the realization of a policy on the part of the United States that tends to subordinate the Hispano-American states, above all, economically. This conception would be artificial and unnatural, especially if it were considered as a kind of gradual or rapid reduction of the relations of Central America or South America with Europe.—P. Leroy-Beaulieu, in *L'Économiste Français*, volume II, pages 301-304.

by their respective governments, offered to the secretary of state at Washington, in a note of April 25, 1914, their "good offices with a view to seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict."

"This government will be glad to take up with you," said Secretary of State Bryan, in his reply to the A. B. C. powers of South America, "for discussion in the frankest and most conciliatory spirit, any proposals that may be authoritatively formulated, and will hope that they may prove feasible and prophetic of a new day of mutual coöperation and confidence in America."[3]

Some said it was a case of arbitration. It was not, however, but simply the desire of the American government to permit the delegates of the three republics to seek an adequate solution of the controversy, in accord with the treaty of the Hague relative to the pacific settlement of international disputes. On this occasion was established the principle that nations not involved in a dispute have a right to offer their good offices or their mediation, of a purely consultative, and not an obligatory, character.

Some interpreted the step taken by the South American republics as a desire to coöperate in the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine. If it were not so, at least it contributed to strengthen American solidarity more and more, since, as said *The Times* of London:

> The incident was equal to a hundred trips by secretaries of state to the capitals of South America, and it is worth much more than hundreds of banquet speeches on American solidarity. The fact is more significant than scores of Pan American conferences, because it changes fine words and the phrases of eloquence into a mile-stone in American diplomacy: it establishes a precedent, and it is probable that it will be the harbinger of a new era. Latin-American pride ought to be satisfied by a demonstration of her equality beside the "colossus of the north." In the face of this eloquent proof that the United States gladly accepts the coöperation of Latin America in the development of future international relations in that hemisphere, the whole world will understand that Pan Americanism has a real meaning."[4]

The initiative of the three republics—as Leroy-Beaulieu said in *L'Économiste*—although in no way offensive to the United States, constitutes for the nations of Central America an affirmation of their Latin consciousness and character. All Europe united to applaud this happy initiative. European interests are, in reality, enormous in Latin America. The regions of this part of the world offer a growing and faithful clientèle to the capital, the merchandise and the arts of Europe.

Taking his stand on article XXI of the treaty of Versailles, which declares that "nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace," the government of Salvador, in its memorable note of December 16, 1919, requested the United States to define the juridical international scope of that understanding which, "doubtless because of its brevity and slight clearness, has provoked vehement discussions throughout the American continent."

The department of state at Washington answered the Salvadorian chancellor by defining the scope of the Monroe doctrine in an official manner. It said that it is to be found in the address of President Wilson at the Second Pan American Scientific congress, held in Washington from December 27, 1915, until January 8, 1916, in which he proclaimed the following:

1. A notice to the European powers not to attempt to extend their political systems on this side of the Atlantic.

2. This notice does not imply a political or moral protectorate of the United States over the other nations of the New World.

3. The guaranty of the political and territorial independence of the Hispano-American states.

4. Devotion to the principle of arbi-

[3] *The New York Times*, April 26, 1914, part III, page 1.—The Editor.

[4] Failing, after considerable search, to locate the quotation from *The Times*, we have had to translate back from the Spanish version, thus, of course, departing in phraseology somewhat from the original English.—The Editor.

tration as a means of securing the international and internal peace of America.

5. Mutual respect for the rights of others among the states of America.

6. Absolute political equality among the American nations, based upon the eternal principles of justice and humanity.

However, the president of the United States has no authority to interpret the Monroe doctrine, holds the eminent Venezuelan internationalist, don Jacinto López, in a brilliant study of recent date, although by curious contrast, he has the most ample and absolute liberty to apply it, according to his knowledge and understanding. The application may be varied, as facts and circumstances change, to suit the interests of the United States. "Only an act of congress," he adds, "can fix the application of the doctrine in a permanent manner; but until the present time it has declined to express itself, and if it did, it would limit the power of the president, on whom the constitution confers the direction of the international affairs of the great republic."

We must not forget Manzoni's phrase, *Liberi non sarem', se non siam uni.* (We shall not be free, if we are not united), and that in the political world—after the great war was waged for the right to existence and to equality on the part of the small nations—the capitalistic doctrine of international law prevails, which establishes it, in the opinion of don Miguel de Unamuno—tacitly if not expressly—that the earth is to be, not of those that enrich it by the sweat of their brow, but of those that buy with their money the sweat of others.

The analphabetism, anarchy and civil wars caused by the sinister ambitions of scheming politicians still prevent the idea of continental solidarity from becoming rooted in the American conscience.

However, *gutta cavat lapidam* (continual dropping wears away a stone), and by the broadening of popular education and by constant proclamation—on the platform, in the press and in the book—of the immense advantages that are to be derived from the development of Pan Americanism, the day will arrive—oh that it may not be too late!—in which the Ibero-American peoples, having in view solely the wholesome ideas imposed on them by true patriotism and the instinct of self-preservation, will comprehend that on the reign of peace through justice and law depends the existence of the autonomy and independence of the nations of the New World.

THE GROWTH OF BUENOS AIRES

EDITORIAL

A history of the material development of Buenos Aires, from 1774 until the present time, with statistics as to buildings, rooms, population, and area covered.—THE EDITOR

OF THE many aspects presented by this the gigantic city of the race in its extraordinary development, one of the most interesting is that which has to do with its construction.

The entire population—which numbered, about the middle of the eighteenth century, 11,220 inhabitants (in the year 1774, according to the *Registro Estadístico* of Trelles)—could be contained to-day in half a dozen of her great edifices, one of which contains 1,500 rooms. The larger part of that population lived in huts of sun-dried bricks and straw.

Concoloncorvo spoke in 1770, in the *Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes*, of a population of 22,000, which, according to Félix de Azara, rose to 32,000 by the beginning of the last century, and to 178,000, fifty years ago, when the first general census of the nation was taken.

In 1869, the year of the first census, there were 181 buildings of three stories or more, a figure that rose to 918 during the period of twenty-five years that intervened between that year and the taking of the second general census in 1895. At present, there are 7,000 buildings of more than three stories. The city of Buenos Aires is not characterized, however, by lofty structures. Buildings of one story or of two stories predominate, and this fact signifies that the city covers a vast extent and requires an extraordinary service of trains, street railways and automobiles. There are 11,000 automobiles in use.

The total number of houses in Buenos Aires fifty years ago (1869), according to the census mentioned, reached 19,000 (among which nearly 2,000 were huts or wooden houses), 15,000 of them being of one story, 1,541 of two stories, and only 181, as we have said, of three or more.

During the following years, the city began to change and to grow rapidly. In twenty-four years were erected important public edifices, churches, large and imposing residences and many thousands of solid apartment houses. In that quarter of a century were constructed more than 1,400 good houses per annum, that is, a total of more than 35,000, or double the number of those constructed in the previous century.

The city thus reaches the year 1895, with a population of 664,000, comfortably lodged and possessing good theaters and public buildings. It contained 54,800 solidly built houses, with roofs of *azotea*.[1] The huts had entirely disappeared.

By 1895, Buenos Aires had already become remarkable for her population and her movement, above all, as a South American city that in twenty-five years had surpassed in population all the large cities of the race, so much so that only the great Paris seemed to be remaining ahead. At that time she had more inhabitants than are to be found to-day in the great cities of Spain, or of France, excepting her capital, or of Italy. Just as Buenos Aires grew physically, so she increased in culture, under the impulse of an optimistic and rejuvenated race with high ideals of civilization, abundant material resources and the noble and fraternal coöperation of thousands and thousands of Europeans—Spaniards and Italians—attracted by the marvelous progress of the country and her metropolis.

It might be thought that the attainment of these proportions, in a country of such slight density of population, would mean that this city had reached her maturity, and hence that thenceforward her development would be slower. She was destined, however, to be a giantess, and to be so in a very few years. It is thus apparent

[1] A flat, substantial roof, usually of bricks or tiles.—THE EDITOR.

how there has been built up, along several kilometers of her coast, an enormous port; how the streets have extended in all directions; and how there have sprung up, as if by magic, great groups of buildings in all the centers that formed the available spaces contained within an area of 3,000 hectares; and how even these dividing lines of a purely administrative order have been overspread. During the twenty-five years that intervened between 1895 and to-day, the buildings that were constructed every year were no longer 1,400, as in the preceding twenty-five years, but 8,000 (8,275 building permits per annum, almost all for new edifices). The building permits granted by the municipality of the capital from January 1 until July 31, 1920, were 206,891, and the buildings comprised a roof surface of somewhat more than 27,000,000 square meters.

The number of buildings contained in the city at the present time is more than 150,000. There have been constructed therefore during the last quarter of a century "three times as many" buildings as during the preceding twenty-five years, when the development of the city was even then astonishing.

In 1914, when the third national census was taken, the 1,600,000 inhabitants of this young and gigantic city (to-day 1,700,000) occupied more than 7,000 edifices of three or more stories, of which 500 had more than six stories; some 25,000, two stories; and about 118,000, one story. Almost all are of a perhaps exaggerated solidity, with thick walls of masonry, with an average space of four meters between the floor and the ceiling, large doors and windows, sanitary equipment, running water, electric lights and other conveniences.

The number of rooms contained in these buildings is nearly 1,000,000, the general average being about seven rooms to a building (6.84), while those that have from three to four rooms predominate.

From the data of the census of 1914[2] we have been able to form a table,[3] which refers to the buildings, exclusive of hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, hospices, theaters and other establishments for recreation, that existed in that year, classified according to the number of rooms.

This table shows that a certain numerical importance is attained by the buildings of one room, which reach 4,821, the larger part of which are owned by the persons that live in them. They are "growing houses" in their first stage. There has been no computation in the census of the number of temporary structures that serve as kitchens and baths. These "dependencies" will be replaced before long by good rooms of substantial material, and the one room of which the house is composed will soon be surrounded by other rooms, among them the "parlor" (the large room that faces the street) and the "dining-room:" the former constituting the front entrance, and the latter, the outlet to the court or garden.

The buildings of two stories, which, like the preceding, are to be found in the outlying quarters, reach 16,600; those of three stories, 21,758; and those of four stories, 19,326. The majority of these houses belong to their modest occupants, who have been strongly impelled to become the owners of their own houses by the lamentable condition of the modest residence of this great city in the form of *conventillos*.[4]

Examining the table, it is easy to understand that in Buenos Aires "family cells" predominate, as isolated buildings, since they contribute to the city such enormous proportions that they cover more than 2,000 hectares of buildings, out of the 3,000 that constitute the city proper, that is, more than Paris or than Berlin, and a little less than the most populous of the only six cities that surpass her in inhabitants (New York, London, Paris, Chicago, Berlin and Tokio).[5]

In the 600 hectares of the old and important part of the city, are distributed the most of the public edifices, large buildings

[2]From the breaking out of the recent war until 1920, there was very little new construction in Buenos Aires.—THE EDITOR.

[3]The table mentioned was not given in the original article, and therefore we are not able to reproduce it.—THE EDITOR.

[4]Community houses, apartment houses, buildings with many rooms, usually around a central court, and ordinarily in a very bad condition.—THE EDITOR.

[5]The author overlooked Philadelphia, which had, in 1920, 1,823,158 inhabitants; while in 1914 Vienna had 2,149,800—probably no one knows what is to-day her population, which would be much less; in 1915, Petrograd had 2,138,645; and in the same year Moscow had 1,817,100.—THE EDITOR.

subject to rental for commercial purposes and for residence.

The small buildings, of from one to seven rooms, which compose two-thirds of the total, contain approximately half the number of rooms. There are about 30,000 buildings that have from eight to thirty rooms each; 2,200, that have from thirty-one to a hundred; and there are a thousand that contain more than a hundred rooms. In the last group are comprised the hotels, which, in spite of their great number and capacity, are constantly filled.

To these buildings ought to be added 35 churches, more than 60 hospitals, asylums and hospices, and 150 theaters and motion-picture establishments.

Nevertheless, these buildings are not sufficient for the population of Buenos Aires at the present time. We are facing an actual crisis in housing.

The explanation is simple, if we observe that, during the last five years, construction has been well nigh paralyzed, and Buenos Aires, as is shown by her building statistics, must grow and grow rapidly, more even than her absolute population; otherwise she will be swamped; for in Buenos Aires, when the population increases twofold, economic capacity increases threefold. We need therefore more and better buildings for commerce, more theaters and motion-picture houses, more clubs, more hotels and cafés, more schools, more commercial and administrative offices, more medical consulting rooms, more comfortable family houses.

In the following table,[6] we have included the number of building permits granted by the municipality during the last twenty-five years, the area covered and the approximate value of the buildings. It may be seen how building increased from year to year until the number of permits granted in 1910 exceeded 19,500, and the number of square meters covered, 2,800,000, with a value of 215,000,000 *pesos*, national paper.[7]

From all that has been shown by competent investigators during recent months, in studying the problem of the shortage of houses in Buenos Aires, it may be deduced that the remedy is to be found in building, in building on a large scale, economically and ceaselessly.

The giantess is growing, and her clothes become too small for her as soon as we cease to construct feverishly. How long will this colossus of the south continue to spread? Will it not be well, as has been said, to try, more energetically than we do to-day, to turn in the direction of the country and of the other Argentine cities the sap that nourishes this enormous growth? Or is it that the development of Buenos Aires is a necessary consequence of the extraordinary development of this country? There are those who attribute the life of New York to the life of the western states. If it be so for Buenos Aires, in view of the immense territory of Argentina, it is evident that it will not be many years before she will be the largest city of the race.

[6] The table did not appear as a part of the original. —The Editor.

[7] The Argentine *peso*, much depreciated to-day, like the paper currency of most of the countries of the world, is now equivalent to about 30 cents. In 1910, it was worth about 45 cents.—The Editor.

RIPPLES ON THE SURFACE OF GREAT THEMES[1]

BY

EMILIO J. PASARELL

In an address delivered before a Masonic lodge, the speaker, after disclaiming all effort at originality, presents his personal impressions, or, as he says, "spiritual movements produced on the surface of my thought by small ideas that rise in the realms of my intelligence where there are mental currents," as to: spiritualism and atheism; God and nature and God and man; theological "spiritualism" and natural "spiritualism;" the immortality of the soul and the immortality of the body; the future life; and the training of children in morality and science, while leaving them uninstructed regarding dogmatic and institutional religion. Although the themes are trite enough, and although few can agree regarding them, they are discussed here in a manner that indicates and illustrates a significant attitude.—THE EDITOR.

IN PRESENTING my ideas in this dissertation, I am merely attempting to crystalize my estimate of certain fundamental problems of mankind: problems that have been studied minutely throughout all ages. Therefore my thought adds nothing new to what has already been expressed by the great minds that have enlightened humanity.

It is but an attempt at selection and assimilation. Consequently it can not be original, and it makes no effort at novelty. As the geological cycles have stored in the bowels of the earth gold, precious stones and coal, that, later, the industry of the miner might extract rich treasures therefrom, so the strata of human thought have been superimposed one upon another, that intellectual delvers might bring forth the mental wealth that should make the strongest appeal to them and purify it to the best of their ability, in order to present it in their own words and impress upon it the spirit of their personality.

I am a simple worker, a delver, who, with the lantern of his slight intelligence, has descended to the caverns of his thought to bring forth his ideas.

If great ideas and new conceptions issue from men of light and leading, similar ideas stir in the minds of all those who, by an innate tendency in thinking and feeling, coincide and make intersection with their thought in the free spaces of the spirit; for, as planetary elliptics intersect, and straight lines, with two points in common, coincide and become identical in space, so in the wide spaces of thought, ideas either intersect or coincide.

Ideas are like the flowers or fruits of vegetation. The former have their source in the human brain; the latter, in the layers of the earth: both originate in the cosmic entity.

The vital sap rises through the fibrovascular ducts of plants, waters their tissues and feeds them until they flower and bear fruit. How varied the flowers and fruits supplied us by vegetation! In like manner, mental sap waters and fecundates thought until the process of cerebration buds, flowers, becomes fruitful and produces seed, in the eternal circulation of life.

I have called these ramblings "Ripples on the Surface of Great Themes" because I consider this title best suited to the subject. The Academy defines the word *escarceo* [ripple] thus: "A movement produced on the surface of the sea by small waves that appear in the places where there are currents." Hence, as what is said here is nothing more than an indication of the spiritual movements produced on the surface of my thought by small ideas that rise in the realms of my intelligence where there are mental currents, it seems to me that "ripples" expresses figuratively what bubbles in the substance and form of this address.

[1]A lecture delivered before the Logia Aurora, July 4, 1920.

I

Spiritualism and Atheism. We have here two conceptions absolutely independent of each other: so much so that men are "spiritualists" in an inverse sense to their credulity, as this is exhibited by the savages of Africa, the indigenes of Australia and the Indians of the Amazon.

Spiritualism can not germinate and develop in a man if he has not cultivated his reasoning faculties and his sensitive capacities up to a certain "maximum" of intellectual maturity.

Religious sentiment, which had its origin in the inexplicability of the phenomena of nature as presented to the embryonic spirit of primitive man, generated a supernatural being, the creator of the universe and the arbiter of human destiny.

This religious sentiment is all the more deeply rooted in proportion to the pertinacity with which ignorance, superstition and theology prevail in the individual, whether through lack of vigor, as in women, children and savages, or whether through attachment to the preservation of historical prestige, as in theologians and the clergy in general.

As I see it, atheism is but a rational conviction that in life nothing more is needed than a clear discernment of the difference between good and evil, and a will responsive to that discernment.

As to whether God exists or not, we shall never know. This very day we find ourselves, in respect of this knowledge, almost exactly where we were five or six thousand years ago. Nevertheless, humanity has progressed by the evolutive power of thought.

Man ought not to seek refuges outside of his own spirit. To believe in a God as an entity independent of, and prior and superior to, man and nature, and to take this God as a spiritual refuge, is a sign of mental weakness and lack of faith in our own consciousness.

Both in the spiritual and in the physical world are manifested the same laws of justice, truth and love. It is not possible to break them, because the equilibrium reëstablishes itself.

Geniuses that delve into the sciences have demonstrated by analysis and experiment that the physical forces that generate natural phenomena are in perfect adjustment.

From the celestial elliptics in the eternal movement of the stars, to the marvelous combinations of organic chemistry; from the law of universal gravity, to the law of atomic affinity; from the cerebral elaboration of thought (the perfume of the spirit) to the cellular elaboration of perfume (the thought of flowers) everything responds to an equilibrium that is the sum of justice, truth and love.

II

"God is one, eternal and infinite," say the different speculations on the nature of this entelechy.

I say: Nature is one, eternal and infinite; time is one, eternal and infinite; space is one, eternal and infinite. Then the essence of God, of nature, of time and of space, is identity. Why then place God outside of nature and time and space, as their creator, prior and superior to them, if, in the last analysis, the most that could be deduced is that they have been, are, and will be, coexistent?

So man, inasmuch as he is a part of nature, would be a part of God; and, being a part of God, since God is identified with nature, he is eternal, has always existed, undergoing the transformations that have been imposed upon him by a great variety of circumstances throughout his animal development.

Apart from man and nature, nothing exists. If God exists, he exists within ourselves as a regulative conscience; he exists in nature as a mathematical equation, as a sidereal movement, as a law of harmony and proportion, as a dynamic force, as thought.

III

Gross materialism this? No; pure spiritualism: justice, truth, love, sources of beauty; revindication of the dignity of man; elevation of the concept of nature through absolute science.

This spiritualism is the great moral force that attracts men and binds them by human love, the only noble and exalting

love. This spiritualism does not need any religion, any worship, in order to render effective and progressive the evolution of humanity toward perfection. This spiritualism kindles in the heart of man pure and beautiful sentiments.

It is not God that dominates the history of human events. It is the conscience of man: in the Declaration of Rights of the revolutionary period of France in 1789; in the Declaration of Independence of the United States in 1776; in the Magna Charta of England in 1215; in the *cortes* of Cádiz in Spain in 1812.

There is no other spiritualism than that which emanates from the principles of morality, from mathematical equations, from artistic creations, from the victories of science, from the struggles of peoples for right and liberty; and in these principles and equations, in these creations and victories, in these struggles, stir—latent and immanent—justice, truth and love.

Theological "spiritualism" is cold, artificial, gloomy, abstruse. It places man in a condition of shameful inferiority. It fills him with fear and terror. Man thus renounces his individual liberty and he submits like an instrument to a being that shatters his faith in his own spiritual vigor.

Natural "spiritualism" is clear, simple, elevated. It restores liberty of thought and it subjects man to his individual conscience alone. In this way man drinks at no other fountains of inspiration than justice, truth and love; and thus he invigorates his will and fortifies his spirit. Thus he strives, thus he studies, thus he comforts himself in his sorrows, thus he fills his soul with contentment and rejoicing as he spreads goodness and complies with the duties imposed by the life of relation.

IV

I have a lively faith that the day will come for humanity when it will break completely with all worships and all religions.

Indeed, in our modern age, or rather, in our contemporary age, it is not religious sentiment that serves as a basis for the great movements of the human spirit. Long ago, the orator of the French revolution, Mirabeau, said that he held religious sentiment to be purely individual. Belief in God, in the immortality of the soul and in a life beyond the grave is in no way related to the destiny of man on the earth.

Man (the nucleus of the family) and the family (the embryo of society) need nothing more than goodness, as the source of law, to fulfil the ends of humanity.

This may be atheism, but it is a noble and elevated spiritualism that will produce the happiness of men.

To think of heaven and hell, of the rewards and punishments of "the other life," in order then to acquire good conduct, is to suborn free will and to muddle the knowledge of truth. One ought to be good in order not to be tormented with remorse, in order not to break the harmony of justice, in order not to obscure the truth, in order not to fall into selfishness!

Hereditary tendencies that are transmitted by the physiology of organisms hand down mental defects that often becloud the intelligence of man and cause the vagaries of passion. This condition is transitory, however. When the spirit is once calm, the reflecting intelligence gives clarity to the discernment and vigor to the will.

V

If Christianity has spread among the civilized nations, it is because Christ preached a moral reform, which initiated a stage of evolution above the morality of his time.

The essence of Christianity is morality, and not the idea of God; for the idea of God is found also in the Buddhist, in the Mohammedan, in the pagan, in the Brahman and in the fetishist.

Morality was not an original conception of Christ's. The human spirit was saturated with morality in the writings of all the geniuses that constituted the summits of man's evolution, both before and after Christ.

I will not say that religious sentiment has not served the human spirit as a motive for the revelation of such virtues as heroism, martyrdom and unselfishness; but love of country has also given rise to fortitude and patience; likewise a sense of dignity has exalted the spirit and filled it with ardor in cruel struggles for liberty and right.

Sadly enough, too, religious sentiment, theological spiritualism, has been the ground of tyranny, of oppression, of fratricidal wars, contrary to its own principles; and against theological spiritualism rose that other spiritualism, the spiritualism that was a product of awakened reason and an exacerbated natural sentiment.

When all men attain so great a degree of evolution that every individual shall bow only before his own conscience and shall act in the full light of what is good and what is evil, then will altars fall, churches be transformed and priests and ministers be emancipated. There will be no need to lie in order to dominate the consciences of women, children and savages by means of superstition and credulity.

The time has come when no one should be scandalized by atheism. In the struggle of ideas, spiritual democracy, which is the guaranty of free thought, ought to rule. To believe that the atheist is a bad man, a gross egoist and hurtful to society, is to apply a low standard in judging man's acts.

Man is inviolable. If his heart scatters flowers of goodness and his spirit irradiates rays of protest against all iniquity and all injustice, it is unnecessary to know whether he believes or does not believe in God and the immortality of the soul, and it is unjust to question the rectitude of his intentions.

VI

What is the soul? Is the soul immortal? I coincide with Binet. For me, the soul is the totality of the elaborations of the mind as a function of the brain. This is equivalent to saying that without a brain there is no soul, there is no spirit, there is no thought.

This consideration leads one as by the hand to the threshold of all the grave and vital problems that have preoccupied and that preoccupy the philosophers, naturalists, theologians and psychologists; in short, all the powerful minds that have speculated on these subjects. I shall not be the one to attempt to analyze the nature of the soul, since I possess no extraordinary faculty or sufficient preparation to fit me to do so. I merely desire to set forth in this address what constitutes my intuitive creed in this respect.

Death suppresses life in all the organs. The blood does not circulate, the nerves do not vibrate, the muscles do not move, the brain does not think. The external world is withdrawn from the individual; the internal world, the mind, is no longer a function or a series of functions, since its organ no longer lives; the soul will no more be manifest in that individual. His soul has died with his body; but the soul is immortal, however paradoxical this proposition may seem as compared with what has already been set forth. As I said before, man is an integral element of nature, of the eternal, the infinite, cosmos; the soul is an integral part of man, and it is what stamps him with personality. The soul, like man, like gold, like electricity, is infinite. Therefore it is immortal, that is, indestructible.

When I say man, it should be understood that in this concept are naturally involved two elements—the material and the spiritual, the body and the soul—and that man is as immortal through the body, as such matter, as he is through the soul, as such soul of the human species; and he is as mortal through the body, as such body, as he is through the soul, as such individual soul.

It would be entering too much into subtileties to infer that the immortality of the soul implies its survival after death, that is, the physical separability of the soul from the body. It would be equivalent to the same as separating form from its object, movement from space, law from its effect.

A man does not integrate the concept *man, humanity.* So the soul *of man* endures in its variety and unity throughout time and space. Hence spiritual labor does not die. Therefore universal evolution is possible. The elements of the continuity and permeability of the human spirit vinculate us with the elaborations of thought, the concatenation of ideas, the concepts and creations of the intelligences that have existed or that exist.

The *Holy Scriptures;* the *Vedas* and the *Ramayana;* the *Iliad;* the *Nibelungs;* the

Partidas;[2] *Quijote; Les misérables;* the dramas of Shakespeare; those of Lope and of Calderón; Roman law; the Declaration of Independence; the *Politics* of Aristotle; the *Parallel Lives;* Mommsen and his history; Kant and his *Critique of Pure Reason;* Comte and his positivism; Mirabeau, exalting the patriotism of the convention with his oratory; Burke, defending the North American colonies in the English parliament; Castelar, electrifying with his discourses and astonishing with his *Historia del movimiento revolucionario en Europa;* Baldorioty,[3] chiseling our personality in the *cortes* of Spain; Muñoz, saving Porto Rican dignity in the presence of the American congress; Pasteur, studying the bacteria; Metchnikof, lengthening life; Servetus, discovering the circulation of the blood;[4] Madame Curie, analyzing new chemical elements; Madame Blavatsky, penetrating the mysteries of Indian philosophy; Madame Runker, discovering new comets; Garibaldi and Cavour, uniting Italy; Bismarck, consolidating Germany; Lincoln, freeing the negroes; Wilson, creating a league of nations; the French revolution; Russia, breaking the age long despotism of the Romanoffs, hardened by the ices of the Siberian steppes; Christ, propagating morality; Nietzsche, setting himself beyond good and evil; Einstein, proposing his theory of time as the fourth mathematical dimension, and thus revolutionizing the physico-mathematical sciences: all this, and much more, is the immortality of the soul! All this and much more; *but nothing more!*

VII

I do not know whether the wise men have advanced any theory that explains how the physiological evolutions of the brain are transformed into mental energy, into thought, into spirit. Do we know how fragrance is produced in a flower? Biological chemistry will perhaps some day clear up these problems for us, as it has already studied the infinite variety of the carbohydrates, to tell us how the four fundamental elements of life—carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen and oxygen—are combined in their atoms to generate the alcohols, the sugars and the albumens.

Who knows how motion is transformed into energy, and how energy, in turn, generates movement, power, heat?

A future century will be the one to reveal to thought the laws of transformations and transmutations.

Biology, organic chemistry and psychology jealously guard the secrets of cosmological creation, both in the infinitely great and in the infinitely small.

The thought of man marches toward scientific unification. Humanity to-day moves in the midst of dispersion; hence the specialization of all branches of knowledge; but to the humanity of the thirtieth century or the five hundredth century will belong the glory of unifying the victories of wisdom.

To what race will be reserved the enviable mission? The heritage of the races still bears in its loins the mysterious semen of future spiritual germinations of humanity. No one can catch even a glimmer of the destiny toward which the white race moves and to which the yellow race may come, and after it or with it the black race.

Spirit, or rather "sensation as a fact of feeling, of judging," as said the psychologist Binet, is the incorporeal resultant of cerebral activity. So, with this truth wrested from science by the genius of man and brandished as an ax capable of demolishing the dry branches of the dogmatico-theological tree, will fall the immortality of the soul, future life, heaven and hell, and the anthropomorphic God, useless rubbish that man still carries as traditional ballast.

VIII

Said the master, Guyau, in his celebrated work, *L'irréligion de l'avenir: étude sociologique*:[5]

In the day when the positive religions shall

[2]Or *Siete Partidas:* laws compiled by Alfonso el Sabio of Spain, divided into seven *partidas* or parts. —THE EDITOR.

[3]Román Baldorioty de Castro, 1822-1889.—THE EDITOR.

[4]Will the upholders of Harvey kindly take note.—THE EDITOR.

[5]This work was translated with the title of *The Non-Religion of the Future: a Sociological Study,* and published by Henry Holt and company, New York, 1897.—THE EDITOR.

have disappeared, the spirit of cosmological and metaphysical authority, which had become fixed and which slumbered in formulas that were set up as immutable, will be more lively than ever. There will be less faith, but more free speculation; less contemplation, but more reasoning, bold inductions, active soaring of thought; religious dogma will have propagated and increased in intensity and extent. *For only he is religious, in the philosophical sense of the word, who seeks and thinks and loves the truth.* Christ might then be able to say: "I have come to bring, not the universality of dogmas, but liberty of belief."

Here, in this fragment, are the germs of the future irreligion, of "religious individualism." This is the redemptive formula of the coming generations. We ought to believe that some day, as I have already said, men will be ruled, in all their relations, by their own individual consciences; for then will they no longer fear the law or immanent justice, but their own principles of the good, the true and the lovely.

This is an attractive and consoling philosophy, because it softens customs; because it redeems and laves from many errors and prejudices; because it plucks up beliefs that are still being deposited and rooted in the spiritual substratum with the same tenacity with which tree-trunks, aged and without branches, are buried in the ground, without flowering or bearing fruit, as if the sap refused to rise through the swollen tissues.

A friend once said to me: "Future humanity will not understand how we of past ages cherished these beliefs." It is true. In this sentence of my friend is synthesized the evolutive formula of the spirit.

Therefore we ought to begin now the new sowing in the minds of children; we ought to begin the infiltration of new ideas. Why ever speak to them in the home of anything supernatural or superhuman, if all that they will need to enable them to live nobly and spiritually is to be found capsuled in lofty, natural principles.

Let us teach the child that by investigation, analysis and experimentation man attains to the truth; that by the practice of goodness he puts himself in the way of justice; that by the knowledge of his own nature he gravitates toward love, tolerance, liberty and right; and that by lofty conceptions of the intelligence he soars toward beauty, the supreme unity and synthesis of all the varied forms of the universal spirit.

Let us never burden the juvenile fancy, however, with artificial bugbears, either in the *school* or in the *home*. Let no anthropomorphic God, whether made flesh or metaphysics, take hold of the sensibilities or the intelligence of a child. If God returns to the school in whatsoever manner, we shall run a grave social risk. Let the idea of God rise spontaneously and naturally from the personal sensations and conceptions of each child, according as his intelligence shall develop under the discreet, wise and coördinated direction of the father and the teacher. Thus will be accomplished a spiritual labor, lofty and sincere because of its integrity.

IX

I am about to conclude. Unamuno says in his book *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*, that the mystical manual that Luther read makes God say:

If I must recompense thy wickedness, I must do it with good, for I neither am nor have anything else.

Here you have, summarized, the pure, original essence of Christianity, so adulterated and mocked by us men. This sentence marks the road toward which we ought to strive to return, against the wind and tide of passions and hereditary taints.

There is no other religion than the love of knowledge and righteousness. Already has the North American agnostic Ingersoll, in his controversy with Cardinal Manning, said:

> The average man regards the common as natural, the uncommon as supernatural. The educated man—and by that I mean the developed man—is satisfied that all phenomena are natural, and that the supernatural does not and can not exist. As a rule, an individual is egoistic in proportion as he lacks intelligence.

Let me conclude, however. I have tried to set forth: first, the relative uselessness of religions for the needs of humanity; second, the belief that we ought to entertain that man in his spiritual evolution

will succeed in becoming free by voluntary submission to his own conscience and by practice of the principles of truth, justice and love; third, that not because one is an atheist is it to be concluded that he has no ideals; fourth, that we ought to prepare and to educate the new generations in Puerto Rico in these ideas in order to redeem and emancipate them from religious tradition.

This is my banner; and wheresoever there may be occasion I shall spread in all directions this light that illuminates the new paths in the march of humanity.

DON QUIJOTE IN YANKEELAND

BY

JUAN MANUEL POLAR

(Continuation)

Don Quijote and his good squire, Sancho Panza, resuscitated by Uncle Sam in the United States, continue their adventures and their discourse. They have crossed the Styx (an imaginary lake, in an imaginary park) and they have fallen into the hands of the *dueñas* and the hospitable folk of the enchanted kingdom of Quivira. While awaiting the dawn of the great adventure of the disenchantment, they revel in the new surroundings and give utterance to their varied, not to say contradictory, ideas regarding the denizens of Yankeeland.—THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER XV

WHICH TREATS OF THE WAY DON QUIJOTE WAS RECEIVED INTO THE ENCHANTED KINGDOM, AND OF THE TRIALS ENDURED BY SANCHO PANZA, HIS SQUIRE

THE boat had not withdrawn twenty yards from the shore, when don Quijote said:

"A fine thing we have done, brother boatman, for we have left Rocinante behind! Let us go back then to fetch him, for it seems ill that a horseman should go forth on adventures without a horse."

"No such thing is necessary," said the boatman, "since the case is provided for; and immediately, through the air, will Rocinante and the gray be carried, in order that to-morrow, when the day shall break, which will be when the adventure is to begin, your honor and Sancho will have your steeds at hand."

"If that be so, I have nothing to say," said don Quijote: "for it is true that there have occurred many cases of steeds, in the service of knights-errant, arriving through the air."

"Nonsense and more nonsense seem such novelties to me," said Sancho; "but the truth is that, whether he come flying or by means of his few gaits, I shall not be the one that will again ride the gray; for if before going through the air (granted that this lie be true) he was already so skittish, your honor can well fancy what he will be like after such an escapade."

"These are apprehensions unworthy of you, señor Panza," said the boatman, "for it is well known that not only the gray, but Pegasus himself, could the squire of don Quijote ride with skill."

"By my faith, I make not out who this señor Pegasus can be," said Sancho, "but ill sounds to me his name, for it rings of paying,[1] which is something not at all to my liking."

"So thou dost not understand who Pegasus was?" asked don Quijote. "Then thou must know, for the government of thy conduct, that he was no less than the famous steed mounted by Bellerophon, when he went forth to fight the Chimæra, and thou must be grateful for the honor that is done thee by the brother boatman in fancying thee a horseman of such spirit and arrogance."

"I stand informed, slightly convinced, but not at all satisfied," replied Sancho; "what I would say, indeed, is that these fine phrases savor of mockery, for never did I boast of being a horseman or a tamer of colts, because of that which runs: a colt, let another tame him, who will not be I, for certain. Then let that señor Elephant, or whatever you call the great schemer, ride the gray, who is not the gray at all, and let him fight as much as he please against this doña Chimæra, who, it seems to me, must be some baggage or woman of evil life, for only such a one would get mixed up in quarrels and fights."

"Ignorance is very bold," said don Quijote, "and thou dost wrong, Sancho, to speak of that of which thou understandest naught, thus profaning with unworthy lips

[1]The play on the sound of "Pegasus" and "paying" is not so evident in English as on that of the Spanish words *Pégaso* and *pegar*, "to pay."—THE EDITOR.

the unparalleled beauty of Greek mythology. Long and right carefully shall I explain to thee, if time and occasion permit, who the son of King Glaucus was, and how, by his achievements, he won the title of knight-errant (for such he was without a doubt), not less than by his modesty and chastity, at the court of King Argus."

"Well does it seem to me that your honor should not weary yourself with such explanations, since, as for me, I am opposed to meddling in the affairs of others and in belfry gossip."

"For my part, I," said the boatman, "should take great delight in hearing this history from your señor don Quijote, except that we have now reached the end of our journey."

While the three navigators had been conversing, as has been said, the boat went around the lake three times, and, as night began to fall, it drew near the shore, on which could be made out a thick woodland, entered by a road that led down to the landing, constructed of painted boards and adorned with several ornaments and plants of showy appearance. Pointing it out, the boatman said:

"See, your honor; it is there that we must touch."

As he said this, there appeared along the road, as in a procession, many women, dressed in mourning and with lighted torches in their hands.

"What peregrination or pilgrimage is that?" asked don Quijote.

"It is the pilgrimage of the *dueñas*," answered the boatman, "who come to receive your honor and to ask you to try to disenchant their señora the princess."

"And these, will they turn out to be bearded, like those of yester-year?" inquired Sancho.

"Bearded, no;" replied the boatman, "but of a very fine appearance;[2] and it is an occasion when the señor Panza may choose from among them the señora of his thoughts, or, rather, his wife and woman."

"How is this to be understood," said Sancho, "if a short time ago I was in the way of being a marquis or a count, and now we end up by my tying myself to a *dueña*. Do not imagine that I am so meek. *Dueñas* for me! God deliver me from such sanctimonious folk! Furthermore, I would have the señor boatman know that I was married, and by the church."

"A widower, my friend Sancho would say, for many are the years that doña Teresa, his wife and woman, has been buried."

"This is to be inquired into," said Sancho; "but if I am so, I shall be able to look out for myself; for he that keeps his eyes open will always find his chance; and before you marry, be sure to tarry; and he that gets married will certainly be harried."

"Have done with thy prattle," said don Quijote at this point, "for what we now have to do is to prepare for the ceremony of the reception and for rendering homage to these señoras *dueñas*."

"Evil enough seems to me the reception," said Sancho, "for these are birds of ill omen, and the best thing for us to do is to turn right about with an 'If I have seen thee before, I do not recall it.'"

Don Quijote did not hear the remarks of his squire, for he was absorbed in watching the procession of the *dueñas* that were approaching the shore; and as soon as the boat touched the landing, don Quijote was the first to spring out. Sancho followed him, with none too good a grace, and finally the boatman leaped ashore. No sooner had the *dueñas* seen don Quijote than they began to lament in chorus, making much ado and speaking in the following manner:

"Señor don Quijote de La Mancha, you who are the knight announced by the oracles, and of whom so much good has been spoken by the pythonesses, hasten now to save our señora the princess, who awaits you with her kingdom and her hand!" Coming on apace, they all drew near to where don Quijote stood, and they kissed his hands, lavishing praise upon him and beseeching him to answer them whether he would accede to their request. Listening to them, somewhat perturbed, don Quijote said:

[2]The Spanish pun can not be rendered in English: Sancho asks if the *dueñas* are *barbadas* "bearded;" the boatman replies, "*Barbadas. no, sino de muy dueñas barbas*," which means, literally, "Bearded, no; but of very good chins," yet, idiomatically, what is given in the text.—THE EDITOR.

"Your supplication, which does me so much honor and favor, will receive attention only in respect of saving the princess, and you may go and tell her that she will soon be disenchanted and free; but as to the second point—I refer to the hand of the princess, for I mention not the kingdom since it is an affair that neither interests nor attracts me—I am prevented, by that of which I know, from accepting so high an honor and dignity as that which is offered me."

When they heard that the princess would be disenchanted and free, the lamentation of the *dueñas* was turned to rejoicing, and they threw off their black veils and even the headdresses they were wearing and began to dance to the sound of very lively music, which, as by enchantment, came from out the wood. At each round of the improvised dance, the *dueñas* made a bow to don Quijote, and, approaching Sancho, they gave him little taps on his cheeks—first on one side and then on the other—with their fans of feathers, which they opened and closed to the beat of the music. The squire was not very well pleased with these caresses, and he tried to prevent them with both hands, saying finally:

"Have a care, señoras *dueñas*, for I am not a font of holy water, nor do I need to be confirmed by you so many times."

They laughed when they heard Sancho, and he became so angry that he began to snatch at the fans with which the *dueñas* were tapping him, when don Quijote said:

"May the señoras have the goodness to leave my squire in peace, for he is not a person skilled in great ceremonies nor any longer of an age to learn them."

"It is not a question of age, for I am neither a grandfather nor do I drag my feet," said Sancho; "but these señoras seem to me to be none too proper when they permit themselves such dances."

"On with the procession," said one of the *dueñas* at this point, "and let the Knight of the Sad Figure come with us, for night is now closing in and he must seek such repose as is due to one of his bearing and good name."

They set out therefore, taking the road that crossed the little woodland, when, after a few paces, there came suddenly from the other side a glare of light so splendid that it left them all bewildered, for it was produced by one of the so-called electric search-lights of the greatest power, like those that gleam from the towers in the ports to light the sailors many leagues away. The *dueñas* moaned, exhibiting their confusion and horror, and telling don Quijote to observe the power of the sorceries with which he had to deal. Sancho was terrified. The boatman said that it was the sword of Jupiter himself, but don Quijote, making a screen with his right hand, remarked:

"It is nothing that ought to frighten us, this light that illuminates us and that looks to me like the flash of some stationary sentinel: but if it be a sword, as the boatman says, let it fall here upon me, since it neither wounds nor offends, except the sight, which will become accustomed to it, in order that what was troublesome at first may become a convenience. Forward then, and let there be no alarm, for these and other greater sorceries will not awake fear in my spirit; and you, señoras *dueñas*, interrupt not your dance, since I am here to protect you, and if formerly you danced in the darkness, you can now dance in the light, which is more cheerful and seemly."

The *dueñas* were surprised at hearing don Quijote, and, as if they had become entirely tranquillized, they began to dance again and they caught Sancho by the arms to take him along in merriment and jest. Good Sancho, who was, in reality, the only one alarmed, protested in every tone, and don Quijote said to him:

"Sancho, my son, give pleasure to the ladies, for it is not proper for a squire like thee to hang back thus when *dueñas* of so high a lineage do thee the honor to invite thee to dance."

"I do not need any such honor," cried Sancho, squirming to get loose from the *dueñas*.

"But, señor Panza," said the most advanced in years, "it is not proper that the squire should refuse to dance in honor of his master."

Half angrily and half mockingly, Sancho answered her with pertness: "Well goes the

dance, doña Catalina; drubbings for the old dame, kisses for the girl."

All laughed at the reply, and the *dueñas*, more aroused and with great forwardness, surrounded Sancho, all speaking to him at the same time and catching him by the arms; and, whether he would or not, they bore him away without letting him touch the ground, amid laughter and merriment.

The squire's torture ended when they all reached a beautiful country palace, decorated *a giorno*, as we are wont to say, with Chinese lanterns, even among the trees of the parks, and a sea of electric lights, flags and streamers that announced the festival. In the summer-houses was heard the music of oboes, flutes and kettledrums, but with the arrival of don Quijote, this music ceased, and a trumpet sounded.

"What trumpet is that?" asked the hidalgo.

"It is the one sounded by the dwarf to announce the arrival of the knight at the castle," answered the boatman. At the moment there came forth from the palace (not to say castle) a gentleman in the armor and guise of a warden, and twelve young maidens of very pleasing appearance, several ushers and some twenty archers; reaching the spot where don Quijote was, the warden said to him, with many obeisances and reverences:

"Welcome to the señor knight of La Mancha who, although he comes to an enchanted kingdom, must not fail to meet the homage and reception that his dignity deserves, and all the more so, if there be borne in mind the mission that high Heaven has confided, in this world, to his never disputed daring and his dauntless arm! Therefore let the prince of hidalgos, the flower of valor and the king of knights-errant enter the castle!"

Don Quijote replied with repeated inclinations of the head to all these compliments, and then two of the maidens, calling to mind the reception in the castle of the dukes, cast upon don Quijote's shoulders a mantle of very fine scarlet, with trimmings of ermine, and two other.maidens offered him their hands to conduct him: an honor that the knight accepted with much courtesy and reverence. Two of the *dueñas*, in turn, also offered their hands to Sancho, but he refused to accept the homage, saying that he would have nothing to do with such forward jades. Don Quijote heard him, and he changed color, ashamed of the impertinence of his squire on such an occasion, and he turned to him with a look and gesture so imperative that Sancho had to offer his hands. The two *dueñas* grasped them with such force that the unhappy fellow began to cry out, saying that they were pulling him to pieces, whereupon don Quijote sweated blood, affronted and filled with indignation against the squire.

With measured pace and solemn, advanced, first, the warden, then don Quijote, trailing on the ground the scarlet mantle, afterward Sancho, who did not leave off howling, and finally the rest of the company.

In this order they mounted the steps of the vestibule and entered a very well ordered and luxurious hall, at the head of which was a great chair of state, to which they conducted don Quijote, who sat down with all decorum, while the rest remained standing; and then the warden said what will be found in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

IN WHICH CERTAIN CURIOUS EVENTS ARE DESCRIBED, AND THE DISCOURSE PRONOUNCED BY DON QUIJOTE REGARDING AMERICA AND HER GREATNESS IS REPORTED

Then the warden took the floor, and, as was said in the preceding chapter, he began to speak, giving utterance to the following words:

"Your honor, señor don Quijote, has now reached the kingdom of Quivira, for this fort or castle in which we now are gathered is the first one of her frontiers. It is well known that for many lusters the entire kingdom has been enchanted, as was narrated to your honor in all detail by the wise Charoriano."

"What wise man is that?" asked don Quijote.

"None other than the boatman that brought your honor to these shores, and he gets his name from a certain relation or connection with him of the Stygian lake

and the Acheron, as your honor very well knows."

"I understand," replied don Quijote.

"The truth is," continued the warden, "that, according to the most famous pythonesses, with the passage of the centuries, your honor was to come from remote lands to this enchanted kingdom of Quivira, and that, informed of the fact and ground of this enchantment, on the same day as that which the calendar will show to-morrow, after taking counsel to-night of the pillow, you were to undertake the most tremendous adventure ever penned by history, for the end and purpose of breaking this enchantment, always provided your honor might be so daring as to put shoulder to the task."

"This is a question that is not asked," said don Quijote, "much less is there need to take counsel of pillows, for if it were not to avoid violating what the pythonesses said regarding the date, I should not delay in harkening to the plea of the warden, but I should at once undertake the adventure that high Heaven has ordained for my good fortune."

All cast sidelong glances at one another, remaining silent, and don Quijote inquired:

"And might it be known who is the wise man or demon that has been guilty of this impertinence?"

"The idea, according to the narration of the histories, was that of the ancient king of Quivira," replied the warden; "but in view of the testimony of ancient parchments, recently discovered, it seems that the enchanter was either Merlin or Fristón, or perhaps the two of them are in accord in this affair."

"I have accounts to settle with both," said don Quijote, "and much should I delight in bringing them to book."

"But these *pustonisas*[3] that have got us into this mess: did they say nothing, señor warden," asked Sancho, "as to whether my master should come out victorious or not in the affair?"

"The pythonesses, and not the *pustonisas*, as you erroneously call them, Sancho, said nothing," replied the warden; "but it is to be noted by this very silence that they maintained that if it be true that your master can gain renown in this enterprise, it is also true that he may pay dear for his hardihood."

"This seems all right to me," said Sancho; "and now I ask for what reason is my master meddling with this kingdom, that he should be taking up the gage for it?"

"That which grows out of my office and profession," answered don Quijote, "which is to succor those that need my arm, whether they be kings or the least of their vassals; and it would be well, Sancho, for you not to continue to interrupt the warden."

"I have nothing more to say," replied the warden, "than that to-morrow, when Phœbus shows his rubicund face in the orient, your honor, at this point and hour, will go forth, if you please, upon your horse Rocinante, followed by señor Panza; and, taking the road to the Outrages—for thus it is called—you will find yourself girt about with swarms of enemies, and you will encounter the monster that watches over the enchanted kingdom of Quivira and will engage him in furious battle until you vanquish him or be vanquished by him, along with your squire."

"Pursue the subject no further," said don Quijote, "for it is a problem solved and settled, this of undertaking the adventure, and in the meantime, on with the dance and hinder not the joy of these beautiful princesses. Let not so paltry an affair overcloud the chaste delights of the court, and on no such account must the hearts of the maidens be disturbed."

"Then say I," said Sancho, "that there will be no such adventure: first, because I am not going to stick my nose into these outrages, even if they toss me in a blanket again; and second, because we lack Rocinante, who, as this señor warden says, is a person necessary to this enterprise."

"You deceive yourself, brother Sancho," said the warden, "for Rocinante and the gray, thanks to the power of a certain wise man that protects your master, came a short time ago on a cloud of fire, and they are in the stable employing their time to the best advantage."

Sancho was about to take up the argu-

[3]Sancho's attempt at saying *pitonisas*, "pythonesses," as given in the Spanish text.—THE EDITOR.

ment again, when the warden, addressing don Quijote, said:

"If your honor has no further orders, let us turn our attention to dining, señor don Quijote, for work and the weight of arms can not be borne without a due regard for one's inner man, as your honor wisely said on a certain occasion."

"That is true," replied don Quijote.

Then the warden made a sign to the maidens. Two of them approached don Quijote and offered him their arms with all courtesy. The knight gave an arm to each of them; and then a very pompous lackey, opening a door in the rear, which was that of the dining-room, announced that the soup was served. Don Quijote and the maidens passed in. He took the place that was offered him, while the warden seated himself in front of him; and don Quijote besought the maidens and the other ladies also to be seated; but they did not consent, all remaining standing about the table in order to serve the knight-errant; and one of them, after bringing him a basin with great politeness and placing a napkin upon his knees, began to say:

> And he was treated by maidens,
> And his steed by princesses.

Don Quijote greatly appreciated this courtesy, while the squire, who was in a bad humor, plumped himself down on a seat not far from his master without saying a word; and they began to serve food and exquisite wines. The warden had instructed the *dueñas* to take Sancho to the dining-room of the squires and pages in order that dinner might be served him. Sancho acceded with the greatest pleasure, in spite of his offishness with the *dueñas*, for the odor of the viands that were being served don Quijote had given him an unwonted appetite.

Don Quijote lacked nothing in his bearing. He alternated his discourse with a bite and a tiny sip, barely touching his lips with the fine crystal of the goblet. The knight-errant spoke on many and diverse topics, with such moderation and discretion, that all marveled at his courtliness and breeding. He related happily, with sobriety and sprightliness, chivalresque adventures, with full account of the charms of the Castilian life, while taking advantage of what the warden said to him to answer him with pertinent remarks and to make display of his courtly gift of speech. With the dessert, it occurred to the warden to ask don Quijote whether he realized how far he was from his own country and locality.

"I do not fully understand," said don Quijote, "but I have been informed by a certain upstart (although I shall refrain from narrating the tale, as it is inopportune) that I am in the land of Flanders."

"Somewhat farther still you are, your honor," said the warden.

"It is possible," replied don Quijote; "and I should be greatly pleased if the señor warden of the castle would serve me on this occasion as a Rosa de los Vientos."

"I shall consider it a great honor," responded the warden; "and—to say it at once—señor don Quijote should know that these regions in which he finds himself are those of Yankeeland."

"Yankeeland," said don Quijote, trying to remember, and then he added: "by my faith, there is no mention of any such country in the cosmography."

"This lack of mention of it ought in no way to seem strange," remarked the warden, "for in your honor's times, there must have existed little or no knowledge of Yankeeland, which is a territory that belongs to the world of Amerigo."

"To the world of Amerigo, you say, señor warden!" exclaimed don Quijote. "Then, in that case, it is to be observed that, without my being aware of it, the envious Merlin, in order to remove me from the Spains and even from Europe, caused me to pass beyond Atlantis, which is no slight thing to cross."

"It is as your honor says."

"I am delighted to hear it," added don Quijote, "since, regarding these lands of America, vulgarly known as the New Continent, run legends and fancies worthy of the age of gold and of the legendary days."

Having given utterance to these remarks, don Quijote remained buried in thought for a moment, and then he began to say in a tranquil voice: "It is related that a nautical adventurer, who they

would make out to have been a Genoese—although he was not, but a Castilian—set forth upon the fierce waves of the sea of Atlantis, with no other strength than his valor and daring as a knight-errant of the seas, or rather, a pilot-errant—for the sea also has possessed and possesses its doughty adventurers, such as those of the famed order of Malta. Great, indeed, were the dangers of the crossing; many the endeavors of the affrighted crew to return to the distant homeland; endless the days and interminable the nights in the solitude of the liquid element, with no sight of the longed-for shore; but history records that the dauntless pilot did not hesitate an instant in his unswerving devotion, until he finally succeeded in planting his colors (which were the cross and the standard of Castilla) upon the shores of the New World, hidden beyond the seas.

"The histories add that in those virgin lands are such fauna and flora—rich, exuberant and varied—that they seem more like those of the Arab legend than of the world we inhabit. In that country abound rich veins of precious metals; pearls that delight with the luster of their enamel, and rich emeraldine stones that take on the variations and the color of hope, as sung by the poets; beautiful plains covered with short grass, like a thick carpet of green, wide-spread and fertile; rivers find their way through deep valleys with their pleasant woods, their leafy paths and delightful nooks where creeping vines, like love-lorn damsels, embrace the aged trunks, spreading wide their bell-flowers of lively and varied tints; wild fuchsias, stately tuberoses and fragrant heliotropes flash amid the foliage with their lovely colors; there the graceful palms of sweetest fruitage spread wide their fans; and the traveler is refreshed, beneath the boughs of the trees, by the juicy and exquisite bay, the white meat of the *ananas*,[4] the delicious cream of the *paltos*,[5] and the cloying juice of the pineapples and the fleshy bananas in close pressed clusters. Those wild regions are crossed by cordilleras whose summits of petrified ice have never been trodden by human foot; by rivers that fall in roaring cascades, and which, like enormous serpents of burnished silver, spread and undulate through thousands of leagues of impenetrable forests that touch the clouds with the sumptuous foliage of their millenary trees; and, as the crown and completion of all this marvel and splendor, glows the tropical sun, father and lord of nature—shedding with such profuse magnificence the golden hair of his tresses—to whom, spell-bound, the gentiles render the homage of their worship as the legitimate god and lord of humankind. Travelers narrate in charming histories that in that land there are great kingdoms, mightier and richer than those of the ancient orient, than even those of the African Egypt. Yet no sooner had the audacious navigator set foot on the sands of the New World than valorous, gallant and thousand-titled knights of Iberian blood, who eclipsed by their daring the prowess of the ancient chivalry of Spain, the knights of the Round Table and the Peers of France, undertook the conquest of these kingdoms, and it is a well established fact that, although few in number and mighty in courage and gallantry, the errant Spaniards, traversing cordilleras, crossing rivers, making their way over steppes and *páramos*[6] and overcoming millions of hardy Indians, conquered empires, dethroned kings and, as a pleasing gift, presented to the crown half the universal world."

All the company were astonished at hearing the discourse of don Quijote, and the warden said:

"Of a truth, your honor is well informed as to the ancient history of this continent; but, since you have lain under enchantment, knowledge has not reached you that, in this country of Yankeeland, not Spaniards, but Frenchmen and Englishmen, explored and conquered the region."

"It may be so," said don Quijote; "but the Spaniards opened the way and to their race belongs the first glory; those that lead, and not those that follow, possess the greater merit."

[4]A native name for several species of plants akin to the pineapple.—THE EDITOR.

[5]A word in general use in South America, corresponding to the Mexican and Central American *aguacates*, "alligator-pears."—THE EDITOR.

[6]Bleak, bare, exposed regions, but, specifically, in South America, such regions of the table-land at a considerable altitude.—THE EDITOR.

"True, very true, is what the señor don Quijote says," affirmed the warden, "and for the new and brighter luster of the race we have your honor, the greatest hidalgo of Iberia, who is summoned to disenchant the kingdom of Quivira, bewitched by malignant sorcerers and perverted wise men."

"Ready am I for this enterprise," said don Quijote, "for just, very just, is it that an adventurous Spaniard should bring to a happy end and conclusion that which was undertaken in the age of iron by the Pizarros, the Sotos and the Corteses."

"And does not your honor wish to learn," asked the warden, "what the present year and day are?"

"Any day is good, if it can be seasoned with a memorable event," said don Quijote; "but I should be pleased if your honor would be so good as to inform me as to the day and year proclaimed by the calendar."

"The day is Sunday, the month is June, and the year is one thousand, nine hundred and so-and-so.

"According to this," said don Quijote, without manifesting surprise, "a number of centuries and some years have sped during my enchantment."

"Such is the truth," replied the warden, and, after a pause, don Quijote added:

"I am greatly delighted, señor warden, to return in the twentieth century, and in these American lands, according to what your honor affirms, to give a new exhibition of knight-errantry, since, whether it be the year one or one thousand, or whether in virgin America or in ancient Europe, the order already mentioned is called upon to reform the world, to conduct mankind along the path of honor and justice, which is the one that leads to God, and one must follow, even if the devil himself oppose—as he surely will—as evil opposes good; vice, virtue; and falsehood, truth. Not merely because merit is dimmed temporarily, nor because corruption is exalted or rascality and baseness gain the upper hand, is merit to flag; for, after all, things will take their due course and virtue will have its reward. This is the reason therefore, señor warden, why I am neither surprised nor yet do I marvel that I have passed centuries under enchantment; for the impious Merlin could not prevail, as he has not prevailed, against the designs of high Heaven, which returns to me my liberty for the many and great things that divine Providence has in store, in this happy period of the twentieth century of our era."

At this point, the company rose from the table and went into the salons, the withdrawal being accomplished with the same ceremony and courtesy that had marked the entrance.

CHAPTER XVII

WHICH TREATS OF SANCHO'S PLEASANT TALK WITH THE SERVANTS OF THE CASTLE, AND OF THE DISCUSSION THAT TOOK PLACE LATER BETWEEN MASTER AND SQUIRE

In the mean time, the servants had surrounded Sancho, anxious to listen to the squire's facetiousness, and he began by saying to them:

"Wait, your honors, and let one take thought for his life, because, if it is talk you wish, you shall have it, but, first, out with the drinks, for to judge by the smell of them, they are of no slight substance and flavor."

All remained silent, making signs and restraining their laughter, and Sancho began to eat, much to his liking, with due regard to the seasoning of each dish and to the confection of the dainties. The steward, to loose Sancho's tongue, served him sundry wines, of which the good squire partook with moderation, because, although fond of drinking, he was not a person addicted to drunkenness; and, as one of the *dueñas* invited him with well chosen words to repeat his libations, he expressed himself thus:

"Enough of wines, my señora doña Rodríguez, for, although good to look at and to taste, they might ascend to the pulpit, and I might not speak by the book."

For a long hour did Sancho enjoy the pleasures of the table, but after the first half of it, the keen edge of his appetite being taken off, he began to chat jovially, both with the steward and with the *dueñas* and the men servants. First, he asked about the customs of the people of Qui-

vira; and, while they were telling him about them in detail, the good Panza commented with witty sayings and opportune proverbs, descanting later on his adventures of other years and delighting to recall them as his happy days, all his listeners deriving much pleasure from his discourse. The steward improved the occasion, while adventures were under discussion, to ask him what he thought as to the disenchantment of the kingdom of Quivira, and Sancho replied:

"If, indeed, my master undertakes this adventure (and he will undertake it, for nothing can stop him), your honors are going to witness some achievements the like of which are not recounted of any knight-errant born of woman."

"Yet we are to behold not only those of your master," said the steward, "but also those of yourself, señor squire."

"About this, we do not agree," replied Sancho, "for, as to feats, those of my master are sufficient, because, while he leads the procession, it falls to my lot to make a noise, and one can not make a noise and march in the procession at the same time."

"This will never do," reasoned the steward, "for, as the pythonesses said, the squire will also take part in the fray."

"It is clear, señor steward," said Sancho, "that neither your honor nor all these that are egging me on know anything about affairs of chivalry, for, if you did, you would not be now trying to thrust me into the dance. I am a man of peace, and not a roisterer or a fighter, because, a good citizen and an honest husbandman, I like to live as God ordains, without meddling in what does not suit me, and, least of all, in adventures and bloodletting, which belong to giddy folk and such as have screws loose in their heads. To another dog with this bone, señor steward; for the fool knows more in his own house than the wise man in the house of another."

"These remarks have an ugly ring in my ears," said at this point the *dueña* that the squire had called doña Rodríguez; "for according to what you say, brother Sancho, your master is crazy or but little better, and you are a double knave, since you follow his whim for adventures without putting your neck in the noose."

"Such is not the case," answered Sancho; "because what is courage and knightliness in my master would be perversity and want of sense in me, for I would have your honors know (if you are ignorant of it) that God has put some of us in the world to try to mend it—and among them is my master—and others, to go their own way and enjoy good living, if it falls to their lot—and among such am I—for I do not offend any one, nor do I put together or pull apart, nor yet do I go on fools' errands, nor will I get the worst of it by sticking my nose in the affair of this dirty kingdom of Quivira, whether it be enchanted or otherwise, or whether the good-for-nothing pythonessess have their say or not regarding my person, which is no plaything for such drabs. As to my master's being crazy, I do not deny it and I can not deny it, for I have seen him commit such folly and undertake such adventures as go beyond insanity itself; but, at the same time, he is also sound, and so sound that there is none like him for doing justice, even to the point of madness, for what he says is so equitable and reasonable, and what he does is so in harmony with what he says, that, well examined, his wildest flights of folly turn out, in the end and after all, to be wise and prudent in the extreme. What shall I say of his courage, except that there is no one that equals him in this respect, and of the purity of his devotion to the señora Dulcinea, and of his good breeding and gentility and of his equity and compassion toward the unhappy and the needy, save that, were it not for his fondness for altercations and quarrels, my master would be more like a holy adventurer than like a knight-errant? In conclusion, know, your honors, that you are going to have a rough job on your hands (with pardon, be it said) by having in these parts my señor don Quijote de La Mancha, who is the flower of chivalry, the mirror of chastity, the scourge of rascals and scoundrels, the pattern of wisdom and the sheerest madman that has ever been seen."

Sancho's monologue was received by all with handclapping and a shout of applause, and the steward said:

"In truth, señor squire, you have been so wise in your speech that any one would

say that you are a graduate of Salamanca or of Sigüenza, and no sooner does one hear you than he recognizes that you ought to be called Doctor Sancho Panza."

"This would be in no way strange," replied Sancho; "for the habit does not make the monk; and what nature bestows is not lent by Salamanca; and under a bad cloak may be hidden a good tippler."

"It is as you say," said the steward, "but, returning to what you said before, I do not understand how, if your master is mad, he can sometimes be sound, which is as if one should say, sensible without sense; and you would confer a great favor by explaining to us this paradox."

"Aye, there's the rub," answered Sancho, "for if it were not so my master would be naught and he would hardly have achieved the fame and reputation he enjoys throughout all La Mancha and even throughout the entire world, to such a point that his deeds and his sayings are to be found printed in type letters for the astonishment and delight of the learned, as well as of the ignorant. To my seeming, this affair of my master's insanity is like the saying, 'the reason of unreason,' for just as he is the greatest of the learned, he turns out to be a stark madman. If it be not so, tell me, your honors, does my master say or do anything contrary to justice and good government? No; he merely suffers blows and drubbings, hunger and ill treatment, heat and cold, watchings and penitences, all in order to succor the needy and remedy abuses. For I say that this is not madness, however unwise it may be, and I do not simply say it, but I also give proof that I believe it, because, although I am in my right mind and not ill informed as to how to live (although I say it that should not), I follow and I shall follow my master, whether or not they call him foolish and witless, and although he often seems so also to me."

"What you say, brother Sancho, is no proof," rejoined the steward, "for it may reasonably be observed that, with the famous island and the many favors promised in view, the squire might well be willing to leave La Mancha and follow the señor don Quijote."

"I do not say 'yes' and I do not say 'no,'" replied Sancho; "but let us look into the subject, señor Lawyer, for such your honor seems to me, since you are so inquisitorial and exacting. That I follow my master in order to end by being the governor of an island or some domain is very true; but what will you have? My master offers me a gift, and I should have to get my drinks where I could, if I made a wry face over scruples; for we must not look a gift-horse in the mouth; and when they offer you a kid, you must be ready with your halter. Your honor must also know, however, that I have taken such a liking to my master that, with an island or without it, with largess or without remuneration, I should follow him just the same to the end of the world; for, as to being a faithful and disinterested squire and a good servant, there is no one to equal me within a thousand leagues round about, to such an extreme that, if my señor don Quijote, called the Knight of the Sad Figure, is the first and most famous of knights-errant, Sancho Panza is the flower of all the squires recounted by history. So, master and servant, tit for tat, we are well mated, for one of us can not live without the other, and we travel in this world in good peace and company. He looks out for the quarrels, while I have an eye to the results; he is without fear, while I am without courage; he gives not a fig for estates and moneys, while I delight in the former and am put to no inconvenience by the latter; and so, my master being who he is, and I as God made me, and, casting up the accounts of our good fortune and our bad fortune, each takes his own portion: that of honor for him; that of the more positive benefits for his squire."

Sancho's commentaries would have continued throughout the livelong night, so well was he received by those that were present, if it had not been that the steward remarked that the hour was far advanced.

"And so advanced," said Sancho, "that your honor will now, immediately, please have the goodness to conduct me to my master, because obligation comes before devotion; and let him that is inattentive become attentive; and he that has a trade is already half made."

Having made these remarks, Sancho rose

from the table, taking leave of the *dueñas* and the men servants with bows and words of courtesy; for good food and good treatment teach good breeding; and, conducted by the steward, he went to join don Quijote, who had withdrawn to a luxurious bedroom, and who at the time seemed to be absorbed in his fancies. When don Quijote saw his squire enter, he said to him querulously:

"Can it be possible that thou thus abandonest thyself to feasting and pleasure when we are on the eve of a vast enterprise?"

"Your honor," answered Sancho, "has taught me to be courteous and attentive, and, following this teaching, I could ill despise the favors and the entertainment that were offered us in this castle, not to mention the fact that, however early one gets up, the day breaks no sooner; and that he who arrives in time does not come too late, which is as if one should say that he that rides behind does not come behindhand."

"Enough of proverbs," said don Quijote, "for not by sayings and impertinences shall we prepare ourselves for this emprise and adventure that we are under obligation to undertake as soon as matutinal Aurora shall send forth her golden gleams."

"For the life of me," said Sancho, "I do not see any reason, to say nothing of obligation, why we should mix in this quarrel, all the more so, since I have a suspicion that in the so-called enchantment of the kingdom of Mentira,[7] there are Moors on the coast."[8]

"It is easy to see," remarked don Quijote, "that from pure devilment and knavery thou twistest words and that, with the suspicions of a rustic and the fears of a clown, thou dost try to awaken in me distrust, which is the mother of cowardice. A fine part thou playest! That the kingdom of Quivira—and not that of Mentira—is enchanted is so certain and positive that thou wilt soon see its disenchantment, as the oracles have predicted; and as to that about the Moors, they are neither Moors nor Christians, those that inhabit these remote lands, but gentiles, ignorant of the faith, and therefore given over to idolatry and wanting in the light of knowledge and the rules of morality; so that, after disenchantment, it will be necessary to indoctrinate them, as is fitting, by instructing them in due time in human learning."

"It must be so, if your honor says it," replied Sancho, "but these gentiles, as we are finding out, seem to me to be neither rascally nor enchanted. Fat and contented I find them, and even shrewd and given to fun, and in my opinion enchanted people are not of this sort and appearance, but, on the contrary, they ought to be sad and even thin like the repentant penitents on Holy Thursday. See now, your honor, that, as for myself, I am not easily deceived; for one button is enough for a sample; and, if you give me a thread, I can guess at the hank."

"It is not strange that thou shouldst run on thus," said don Quijote, "according to the saying that the rogue takes everybody else for a rogue; but thou must know, thoughtless squire, that these people without instruction, as all the gentiles are, at times are simple, and that to sin through ignorance is not to sin through rascality, and all the less so, being wrapped in the caliginous sleep of enchantment."

"All these, my señor master," remarked Sancho, "seem to me to be vaporings, for these so-called enchanted people (since your honor would have them so), I observe, eat and drink, talk and laugh quite heartily and as freely as you please, and they are so well filled out and of such good color and so given to the materialities of living that it would not be doing them a favor, but an injury, to rescue them from the calcinious sleep that they are enjoying with so much pleasure and satisfaction."

"Not 'calcinious,' but 'caliginous,' you ought to say," corrected don Quijote: "and as to the comfort in which these people are living, you must know that it is a mere appearance and fiction, and therefore a thing of falsehood and deception; and a lie, sooner or later, leads to a bad end, as it is the offspring of the devil."

"It may all be so," replied Sancho, "but

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[7]Sancho whimsically gives to the kingdom the name Mentira (falsehood, lie), in imitation of Quivira: to translate *mentira* would be to lose the play on the sound of the words.—THE EDITOR.

[8]That is, "there is need for caution."—THE EDITOR.

I have often heard it said that the test of happiness is seeming happy, even if one be not so; for if the truth embitters, better is a lie that sweetens; and let me keep warm, even if the people do laugh."

"Sophisms and falsehoods thou art uttering," said don Quijote sententiously, "for, if at times the truth embitters and mortifies, it is like the nauseating physic that cures illness and then brings health and happiness; but weak human nature is so miserable and so prone to err that it often prefers the sugar-coated poison of the lie that brings in its train sorrow and remorse, while truth bestows upon the spirit peace, which is the only blessing that man can desire in this his journey through life. Many are they that deceive themselves; many are they that deceive or try to deceive their fellows; and both the former and the latter are but fools and perverts that work their own ruin, for fiction passes, but truth abides. So the licentious youth that deceives himself with the pleasures of vice; the old man that delivers himself over to youthful delights, forgetting the burden of age; the poor man that shows off from vanity; and the rich man that feigns want from avarice; the ignoramus that by pretense and artifice assumes to be wise; he that attains to great honor by losing his own by the wayside; all the brood of the deceived and the pretenders—and such there are, of a thousand varied kinds—only find in the end unhappiness and misfortune, for early or late the truth will make its way, and he that has thought to deceive others or that has deceived himself ends by convincing himself that he has been a madman or one under hallucination, who reaps the contempt of his fellow creatures and even of his own conscience."

"May my master pardon me, if I am not convinced by this long argument," said Sancho; "but, from saying to doing there is much ruing; and I think, without going into so many moralizings, we may agree that, better is the known evil than the good that is to be known; and if I were one of the enchanted people of this kingdom, I should take good care to tell your honor to be off with your music to some other place, and to leave me to live in peace and harmony, even if the well-being and comfort enjoyed by this happy kingdom be the greatest of lies."

"It is easy to see that thou art bound to the earth and that thou livest in the present, without thinking of the future or of human destiny," averred don Quijote emphatically.

"Certain and positive is what your honor says," replied Sancho, "above all, that about human destiny, which does not go with my trade. However and at all events, it seems to me that it must be now about midnight, and it would be well for us to go to sleep, for, although we get the worst of it in the adventure of to-morrow, while one is waiting for blows, his body can take its rest."

Don Quijote consented to retire, and Sancho went to bed at once and slept like a Benedictine; but his master, enthusiastic and rejoicing over the many fancies that thronged his brain, hardly closed his eyes during the whole night.

THE AFRO-CUBAN FESTIVAL OF THE "DAY OF THE KINGS"

BY

FERNANDO ORTIZ

I. The "day of the kings."—Descriptions of the day by contemporaries.—Other similar festivals.—II. The origin of the festival.—The *diablitos*.—African factors.—III. Sociological interpretation of the "day of the kings."—The "carnival" of the negroes.—The "dance of the snake."—Religious survivals.

THE "DAY OF THE KINGS"

THE Afro-Cuban negroes—freemen and slaves—celebrated an annual festival every year, on January 6, which the Catholic church consecrated to Epiphany and to the adoration of the Magi kings, and commonly called the "day of the kings."

The "day of the kings" was a day of unrestrained merriment for Africans in Cuba, and the creole negroes[1] took part in their riotous manifestations with equal enthusiasm. It was unquestionably one of the most picturesque scenes of the colonial life, one that in other years appealed to the brush of the artist and the pen of the writer. Therefore it is not difficult to form an idea of its external characteristics, by merely having recourse, in order to experience, besides, the flavor of the period, to the descriptions of it by contemporaries.

On that day, savage Africa, with her children, her dress, her music, her languages, her songs, her dances and ceremonies, her religious and political institutions, came over to Cuba, and principally to Habana. The slavery that coldly separated parents and children, husbands and wives, friends and compatriots, softened on that day its tyrannical harshness, and every negro foregathered with his own, with those of his tribe, with his *carabelas*,[2] in the street, dressed gaudily with the ceremonial costume and trappings of his country, filling the air with his monotonous and irritating African chants, wearying with the noise of his kettle-drums and bells, tom-toms and other primitive instruments, and, above all, rejoicing in the illusion of freedom in an orgy of dances, music, songs and rum. An artist of the period has left us a curious drawing of the festival.[3]

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DAY BY CONTEMPORARIES

Ramón Meza, the Cuban writer on customs, has given us this full description of the "day of the kings."[4]

From the first peep of day, there could be heard everywhere the monotonous rhythm of those great tom-toms made of a hollow trunk and covered at one end with a piece of ox-hide that had been stretched in front of the fire. Servants abandoned the houses from early in the morning, and from the farms in the neighborhood of the town the contingents flocked in: some, crowding the cross benched coaches of the railway; others, packed into the carts that were used to bring in the enormous barrels of sugar; and not a few, on foot. All hastened to join their respective *cabildos*,[5] which generally had as their chiefs the oldest men of the tribe or nation to which they belonged.

[1]Those born in America or any other land than their own, as distinguished from those born in Africa, although residing in America or elsewhere, just as white creoles might be persons of Spanish or French stock born in America.—THE EDITOR.

[2]Properly, of course, "caravels," but, according to local usage, "chums," "cronies."—THE EDITOR.

[3]This drawing is to be found in the *Álbum pintoresco de la isla de Cuba*, published without date in Berlin in 1850. The illuminated edition of this album differs from the cheap edition in black, and in the two editions the title applied to this picture (*La plaza de San Francisco*) is different; the figures, however, are unaltered.

[4]Article entitled "The Day of the Kings," in *La Habana Elegante*, Habana, year V, number 2; and in *El Hogar*, January 11, 1891, Habana.

[5]The *cabildos* [in the sense in which this word is used here], were organizations of Afro-Cuban negroes, principally formed by free negroes, which tended to maintain social cohesion among the Africans that had come from the same *nation*, and to practise among them a system of aid and collective diversions.

Great crowds formed everywhere. The huge tom-toms were ranged at the side, after the manner of batteries. Astride them the drummers beat tirelessly with their calloused hands—to which were tied spheres of hollow metal or wood filled with slugs and adorned with feathers—the taut ox-hide, swinging their shoulders, gritting their teeth, with their eyes half closed as if lost in ineffable ecstasy. In the center of the throng danced two or three pairs, going through the most extravagant contortions, leaping, whirling, striding, to the beat of the stirring rhythm of the tom-toms. The excitement and merriment verged on frenzy. The "captain," that bunch of skin, bone and nerves, that poor spent harp, surely recalled the days of his youth, since he not only shouted until he became hoarse, but, carried away with enthusiasm, he often cut in to become one of the party of dancers. He of the banderole kept it fluttering by swinging it about above the group. The numerous peacocks' feathers that the dancers wore fastened to their hats, shaken by their agile movement, gleamed with metallic iridescence under the light shot straight down upon that motley whole by the fiery sun.

The spangles on the hats, the tinsel and tissues of the garments, the great rings of polished gold that dangled from the ebon ears, the collection boxes that passed from hand to hand to receive from the spectators the *aguinaldo*,[6] the little swords, all shone in a way to blind the sight, while the noise deafened the ears. Looks flashed on those faces of pure Ethiopian stock; the red mouths, with sharp white teeth, opened to give vent to savage cries and laughter. Bells and rattles, drums, flutes, fire-arms, triangles enormous *marugas*,[7] accompanied the deafening clamor.

At noon the merriment reached its apogee. Through the streets of Mercaderes, Obispo and O'Reilly passed an uninterrupted procession of *diablitos*.[8] All went in the direction of the Plaza de Armas. The multitude soon overran the plaza, and it was difficult to make one's way along the sides of the Palacio de Gobierno. The spectators filled the windows, thronged the sidewalks and swarmed the bases of the columns and the stone balconies that surrounded the plaza. The rows of laurels, with their enormous tops of dark green; the shrubs of the plaza, with their colored leaves and varied flowers; the stately palms that uplifted the silhouettes of their elegant tufts against a sky of the purest and most beautiful blue; the sailors of all nations that gathered in groups to witness, wide-eyed, that strange festival; the soldiers that guarded the edifices nearest the plaza; the numerous banners that floated with the wind; and the thousand colors with which the negroes bedecked their clothing, presented, in truth, a most picturesque spectacle. The *cabildos* entered one after another the court of the palace, beneath whose arches sounded for many hours the thundering roll of the tom-toms, the savage songs and the enthusiastic hurrahs of the Africans. While the dancers outdid one another to display their ability below, the captain of each *cabildo*, peaked hat under his arm, a sash diagonally across his chest; the standard-bearer, his flag-staff at his shoulder; and the treasurer, laden with his tin money-boxes, ascended the steps of the palace in the best of order; and, making the liveliest demonstrations of loyalty, they received at least half an ounce of gold as an *aguinaldo*. On that day the palace was very generous. From the windows that faced the court rained tobacco, *medios*,[9] *reales*[9] and *escudos*,[9] at which hundreds of hands snatched in an avaricious scramble. The old negresses, more expressive or more nervous, waved aloft, with the greatest vigor, hollow *marugas*, inserted in a hempen net, and besought God almost deliriously to guard and preserve for many years the health of the "mos' excellen' señor genera'."

Then they would leave the palace to make way for others, and march away, parading in perfect order, the Congos[10] and Lucumíes,[10] with their great feathered hats, blue-striped shirts and trousers of red percale; the *ararás*,[12] with their cheeks covered with scars of gashes and of the application of red-hot iron, loaded with shells, dogs' and alligators' teeth, beads of bone and glass strung together, and girt about at their waists by great rolls formed of hoops covered with vegetable fibers; the Mandingas,[13]

[6]New Year's gift.—THE EDITOR.

[7]According to Cuban usage, hollow spheres of metal or gourd, with handles, containing pebbles that served as rattles.—THE EDITOR.

[8]Diminutive of *diablos*, "devils:" fantastic figures, dressed out as African savages, with feathers, et cetera, in a manner not unlike that of the popular idea of the North American Indians.—THE EDITOR.

[9]Coins: the *escudo* (silver) was equivalent to about 50 cents; the *real*, equivalent in Spain to 5 cents, was, in Cuba, México, et cetera, the eighth part of a *pieza de ocho* or *peso* or *duro* (dollar), and therefore worth 12½ cents; the *medio*, that is, half a *real*, was worth 6¼ cents.—THE EDITOR.

[10]Negroes from the Congo.—THE EDITOR.

[11]Plural of Lucumí: descriptive, in Cuba, of the native of an African region of the same name.—THE EDITOR.

[12]Negroes whose faces were more seamed than those of others.—THE EDITOR.

[13]Descriptive, in Cuba, of negroes from the African region of Mandinga.—THE EDITOR.

very showy with their wide pantaloons, short jackets and turbans of blue and rose silk cloth bordered with marabou; and many others, in short, with topsyturvy names and whimsical garbs that were not made entirely according to the style of those of Africa, but reformed or modified by the industries of civilization.

Not all the negroes, however, were so much given to joining the *cabildos* as the creoles were, and some of those of African origin held them in contempt, and, instead of covering themselves with those savage gewgaws, which constituted the costumes of their countrymen, they dressed themselves in imitation of the Parisian fashion-plates. Elegance consisted in an exaggeration of the fashion; therefore the weaker sex had a preference for ribbons, bows, fringes, great earrings, showy mantles, a profusion of rings, bracelets and a contrast of colors. The stronger sex expressed this preference by a marked tendency to increase the size of collars, to wear shirts with pleated bosoms, to exaggerate the dimensions of cravats and to choose trousers and waistcoats with the largest dots. Others, dressed as sailors, and with little ships on their shoulders, in perpetual movement upon a piece of wrinkled canvas painted green and white, which represented the foamy waves of the ocean, kept on repeating, whenever an opportunity offered, their request for the *aguinaldo.* Others, who went about independently, were dressed as minstrels, and they secured their gratuity by means of clown's tricks. Not a few bore images of the Virgen de Regla or the Virgen del Cobre, inclosed in glass cases, covered with ribbons and hung with miraculous objects, thus exploiting for their own benefit the child-like devotion of the rest.

In the quarters remote from the center, and in the less frequented streets were assembled in absolute freedom the *ñáñigos,*[14] covered with cowls of coarse cloth, somewhat like those of the bailiffs of the Holy Office, but so large and cumbersome that, seen from the side, the legs and arms seemed to be but simple appendages. In the *ñáñigo* was exaggerated all the gross and barbarous imagination of the African tribes. The institutions, the signs, the dress, were all in the highest degree repulsive. It was a sight to behold with what fierce enthusiasm the dregs of the people, without distinction of age, sex or race, followed that ridiculous feather-bedecked staff, the symbol borne by each of those savage groups that reeked with rum and cocks' blood, and who, according to public rumor, took an oath that would be a mortal wound in the breast of any human being.

The other tribes attracted attention by the picturesque and exotic character of their songs, their dress and their dances: in the case of the *ñáñigos,* all was fierce, somber, nauseating. The horde, armed with knives and daggers, marched at a slow pace, not in groups, but huddled together, after the dancers, who did not cease, in their shocking convulsions, to dangle the string of bells they wore attached to their girdles. When two groups of them met, enemies as a rule—for there always existed open war between them—they started a fight, in which they wounded and killed each other fiercely and cruelly.

At two in the afternoon, the police, represented by the legendary warden and his guard, had plenty to do to expel from the ancient quarters of the city and drive beyond the walls the numerous rabble.

Other writers have attempted to treat of the "day of the kings" in Cuba, but always in a superficial manner. From them I cull a few paragraphs, the most highly descriptive:

On the "day of the kings," all the people of color—a name that we apply to those that are not white—are permitted to beg for their *aguinaldo,* either individually, in parties of four or five persons, or in more numerous bodies called *tangos,* with tambourines, flutes and diabolical songs, which is doubtless the reason why those that employ them to obtain their object are dubbed *diablitos.*

The dun colored and brown slaves, and a few freemen of the better class—foremen of the wharfs or of the gangs, or journeymen on their own account—appear in sack coats and felt hats, alias *bombas,*[15] with scarf-pins, gold sleeve-buttons, watches and even Malacca canes and cotton gloves, verses in hand, which have cost them one or two *pesetas,* in felicitation of all the gentlemen they encounter by the way, whether they know them or not, and the ladies, who as a rule remain at home in order to be freed from their impertinences and who frequent the windows or balconies to enjoy the spectacle of the ridiculous figures, their antics, dances and races.

With these verses they are wont to extract a few *reales;* which are bestowed upon them both by those that know them or those that have made use of their services and by good-natured people or those that are taken with their ob-

[14] Persons who belonged to an obscure secret society of the island of Cuba, composed of negroes or whites, and supposed to have originated among certain sects of Africa.—THE EDITOR.

[15] "Derby" or stiff hats: literally, "pumps" (for raising water).—THE EDITOR.

sequious bearing or the dramatic scenes that they sometimes enact at their request.

Through the streets go *tandas* or small parties, numbering from four to five at most, the better looking mulattresses and negresses, with *marugas* or *sonajas*,[16] *güiros*[17] or bells, or by merely singing, without rime or reason, and with an exasperating monotony, certain harsh tunes that penetrate to the innermost depths of the houses. An examination of their garments is not without interest: almost all the women are dressed in satin, tulle or muslin, with ribbons, stockings and shoes of silk (this year they will probably make show of their *malakóes*,[18] head ornaments, *quillas*,[19] double skirts, and who knows how much more?) good jewelry, fans, handkerchiefs, sashes, flowers, crowns, and some of them protect themselves from the troublesome rays of the sun with their sunshades; at midday the heat and weariness are wont to disarrange their careful toilettes, and some can not bear their shoes, which they try to ease as much as they can.

These *tandas*, with their *modisturas*,[20] their songs and their special dances, in which the other sex takes no part, secure a better reception and a more considerable result, as they are permitted, in many cases, to enter the houses and dance in the dining-rooms or courts for a period of ten minutes in exchange for a *real* or a *peseta*, which they afterward divide or spend in some confectioner's shop or some ambulatory stand for the sale of sweets, to which they give preference, since they can get more for their money there.

The *tangos* or bands are the most fearful because of their deafening noise, because of the leaps or *assaults* of the *diablitos* that captain them and because they occupy the street from one sidewalk to the other, thus obstructing passage and depriving the passers-by of the right even of the sidewalk, which they take up, as a rule, with their party and their tambourines and accompanying instruments. These *tangos* are usually made up of the stronger sex, without much attention to elegance in dress, for, as a general rule, they consist of mountebanks and gymnasts that engage in evolutions, races, contortions, grotesque antics, feats on stilts, dances in circles of great diameter and other performances of this kind. It thus happens that some of them dress as Indians, with feathers, bells, necklaces of peanuts or "charm strings" of showy buttons; others daub their faces, arms, necks and legs, as they go scantily dressed for greater agility; others deck themselves out with ribbons, flowers, satin caps, short capes of the troubadour style, trousers decorated with gold, shoes cut low and of enameled leather or of silk.

In addition to the flutes, tambourines, *güiros botijas*[21] and other rustic instruments, the retinue carries banners or standards, and foremen's flags, while the leaders, who are the collectors and treasurers, have stripes on their coats and trousers, which are distinctive of their office.

It is easy to understand at a glance what the bodies of these persons will be like at the end of twelve hours of continuous exercise, so violent in character that many are not able to keep it up throughout the afternoon; but, at all events, they get something out of it and they enjoy themselves in their way, although it be for only a single day out of a year.[22]

Another author gives the following:

Numerous bodies of negroes and negresses march through the great city in all directions to the beat of their tom-toms, dressed out ridiculously, bedecked with a profusion of ribbons, strings of beads, mirrors, old feathers and strips of cloth of many colors. In the center of these groups goes one of their friends of colossal stature, with his face covered with a handkerchief or painted white and red, which gives him an aspect laughable and ridiculous in the extreme. This man wears about his middle, attached to his belt, a hoop covered with coarse cloth and decorated with ribbons, which forms a sort of skirt that reaches to his knees and which shakes violently whenever he moves or dances in front of the windows of his masters or of the masters of his friends and companions. When the dances are concluded, an old negro asks for the accustomed

[16]Bone rattles: see INTER-AMERICA for April, 1921, page 214, article entitled "Mexican Archæology."—THE EDITOR.

[17]Gourds, from which are made native musical instruments, common in Cuba and Puerto Rico: the gourds are well seasoned and notched transversely; the sound is produced by rasping the notched surface with a sort of bow made of wire bent in the form of an ellipse, with the two ends fastened into a wooden handle.—THE EDITOR.

[18]Old-fashioned skirts, with hoops, flounces, et cetera.—THE EDITOR.

[19]Properly, *guillas:* according to local usage, "fringes."—THE EDITOR.

[20]Character costumes, corresponding to those used by the Philadelphia "mummers."—THE EDITOR.

[21]Vessels of clay, partially filled with water, that make a loud gurgling noise when shaken.—THE EDITOR.

[22]From an article by Ontiano Lorcas: "Los diablitos, o el día infernal en la Habana," *Prensa de la Habana*, January 6, 1859.

gift, and the "girls" or "boys"[23] that have enjoyed the African dances and have laughed at the capers and grimaces of their slaves, drop into the negro's hat the solicited present.

Amid all this revelry, this unfettering, the public peace is not disturbed for a second; there is no rioting and no encounters occur; no one forgets his respective duty. The shadows of night begin to cover the earth, and the great crowds of negroes dissolve in peace, retiring to the houses of their masters to rest after all the excitement, to relate to their companions that have not left their homes the occurrences of the day, the events that have occurred during the celebration of their great festival.[24]

From still another writer comes the following:

Innumerable groups of African negroes in masquerade block the streets of the capital; the crowd is immense; its apect horrifies. . . . The noise of the drums, horns and whistles deafens the ears of the passers-by everywhere. Here may be seen a false Lucumí king, in the middle of a black column; there a Gongá;[25] yonder, another of the Carabalí[25] nation, et cetera; and all are sovereigns for a day. They sing with a monotonous and disagreeable sound, in some African language, the memories of their peoples; and hundreds of voices—some shrill, others hoarse and all savage—respond in chorus to the Ethiopian king, thus forming a diabolical concert difficult to describe. Do you see yonder, in the groups that we have just mentioned, others no less riotous, the individuals of which dance like phantasms of the night or like the shades of Avernus, screaming, gesticulating, moving to the accompaniment of the sound of the drums and whistles about a negress that they have proclaimed "queen?" All are sons of scorching Ethiopia that are celebrating with frenzy the sixth of January in the capital of Cuba: all are commemorating the traditions of their mother-country; and, as they commemorate them each year, every slave is free here . . . but for only a single day!

The negro kings wear as a dress of state a sheepskin with its tail; their faces are mottled with many colors, which give to them a terrifying aspect; some grasp in their hands a great staff; others raise themselves on stilts like giants, thus promenading through the streets of the city with their cohorts, and all fill the air with frightful cries, similar to the bark of great mastiffs or to the noise of the lions of the forests.

All, half naked—kings and subjects alike—constitute in the different groups the most repulsive picture that can be presented to the eye of civilized man. Some are playing on the discordant instruments that we have already mentioned above, to wound our ears, and others dance wildly, like the very damned, going through divers contortions with their bodies that offend our sight.

The negroes of Cuba do not have, throughout the whole year, any other hours of greater merriment than those of the "day of the holy kings;" they spread through the city in all directions like a black cloud; from early morning the slave servants disappear as by enchantment from the houses of their masters; those that have succeeded in obtaining their freedom also share in the enthusiasm, in the general frenzy; and all, in short, steal from the hard yoke of their lot those few hours of madness; for man, in all countries, in all conditions of life, in all states, in all ages, needs a certain lenitive to fortify his spirit in order to endure the bitternesses of existence; and it is vain to seek to crush for ever the pleasures and joys that the soul craves, because this would be to shut up the poor human heart alive in a coffin.

On the "day of the kings" in Habana it is necessary to have one's pocket always open, dear readers, and do you know why? In order to give presents. . . . If you go to a café, if you sit down to rest on a seat in any public promenade, if you go into the house of a friend or even of a person that you do not know, everywhere you will see yourself beset by negroes and pickaninnies of both sexes that will come following you, begging you with importunate insistence for the *aguinaldo* of the people. "The *aguinaldo!* The *aguinaldo!*" Here you have the word that will sound incessantly in your ears; here is the sacrosanct word that is to be heard everywhere, both in the retirement of the home and in the squares and streets.

The pressure of the multitude, full of good nature, freedom, life, crowds all space like a cloud . . . and joy and madness overflow like torrents stirred with wine, rum and other liquors; and while the slaves in the city are enjoying their pleasures in the open air, the great lords of the land flee to the country like swallows, to pass, shut up in their estates with

[23]The solicitors of gifts, and beggars in general, are wont to appeal to those that may be inclined to favor them by calling the grown people of any age *ninas*, or *ninos*, "girls," "boys," "babies," thus seeking to compliment them by diminishing their age or by using these words as mere pet names.—THE EDITOR.

[24]From an article by P. Riesco: "Día de los Santos Reyes," *La Prensa*, Habana, January 6, 1843.

[25]These words designate, according to Cuban usage, negroes from African regions of the same names.—THE EDITOR.

their families or in the company of their friends, a day of tranquillity, quietude and complete calm.

The negroes have in Habana their *cabildos* or congregations, and all the individuals that belong to the same tribe proclaim among the negroes of their own nation a superior to whom they give the name of *mistress*. The mistress plays an important part among them, and all the members of each of the respective congregations pay her every month, for the funds of that society as it were, a *medio sencillo*,[26] a coin that is equivalent to a *real de vellón*.[27]

The mistresses are the *queens* that appear in triumph on the sixth of January, surrounded by a retinue composed of the people of the respective tribes. The savage aspect of those faces, the skins that many of them use as clothing, the varied colors of the parasols and the dress of the now half civilized negresses: here you have the characteristic tones that stand out most in the picture, and that attract for a moment the attention of the traveler or any one that spends a "day of the kings" in Habana for the first time. Among the negroes, the dance is a veritable orgy: neither the men nor the women of the unhappy race stop dancing during this entire day, according to the custom of their native land.[28]

Read, finally, this description in verse:

If to this land a foreigner
Came at present on New Year's day,
Who would be able to study it,
In the opinion that he would form
Of what he might observe on this day,
He would surely make a mistake.
For to-day the African people
Have the run of all Habana.
Giving vent to cries of pleasure,
They sing their songs of savagery,
They shout, laugh, make faces,
Without ever stopping running.
With his face daubed with flour,
Bedecked ridiculously
With ribbons and tow and paper,
A towering, lusty negro
Dances, looking happily around
At those that are gathered about him.
Negresses, negroes, that shake with laughter,
Strut about, put on airs,
Whirling round and round:
Clad in flashy colors,
They go through a thousand contortions
To the beating of the bass drum.
And when the dance is over,
The slave people continue
Their outing and their shouting;
And if they traverse the streets
Where their masters reside,
They begin to dance anew.
And once more begins the clamor,
The songs and all the hubbub,
With an infernal uproar.
About they dart in fury,
Perspiration bathes their foreheads;
They look like geniuses of evil.
On stilts appears upreared
The *diablito* decked out and out,
Like a masker, grotesque, horrid;
For him the street seems too narrow,
He sways, he becomes crazy,
Bellowing like a lion.
Then off they go to repeat
Their dances, if you permit them,
Beneath one and another window,
And of such mad rejoicing,
At any hour of the day,
Is to be seen the same picture.[29]

[26]Equivalent to five cents, as distinguished from the *medio:* see note 9, page 334 of this article.—THE EDITOR.

[27]Equivalent to five cents.—THE EDITOR.

[28]Aurelio Pérez Zamora: "El día de los reyes en la Habana," *El Abolicionista Español*, Madrid, year II, number 7, January 15, 1866.

[29]*Si a este pueblo un extranjero*
Fuese hoy el día primero
Que lo pudiera estudiar,
En el juicio que formase,
De lo que en él observase,
Se habría de equivocar.
Pues hoy la gente africana
Corre por toda la Habana
Dando gritos de placer,
Y entona cantos salvajes,
Grita, rie, hace visajes,
Sin cesar en su correr.
De harina el rostro embarrado.
Risiblemente adornado
Con cinta, estopa y papel:
Un negro alto, corpulento,
Baila mirando contento
A los que hay en torno dél.
Negras, negros que se rien,
Se pavonean, se engrien,
Dando vueltas en redor.
Vestidos de relumbrones,
Haciendo mil contorsiones
A los golpes del tambor.
Y cuando la danza acaba,
Prosigue la gente esclava
Su paseo y su gritar:
Y si las calles transitan,
Donde sus amos habitan,
Vuelven de nuevo a bailar.
Y vuelve la gritería,
Los cantos, la algarabía,
Con un estruendo infernal,
Se mueven furiosamente,
El sudor baña su frente,
Parecen genios del mal.
Se ve en los zancos elevado
El diablito *engalanado*
Cual un feo mascarón:
Para él la calle es poco,

Such descriptions give a general idea of what the "day of the kings" must have been in Habana. We must agree, however, that they are all lacking in analytical, detailed and methodical observation; they make no distinction, for example, between the groups, the dances and the songs of one *nation* and those of another; and they present a motley picture of the whole, with many obscure characteristics. To-day, naturally, distance renders the outlines still more confused.

OTHER SIMILAR FESTIVALS

The "day of the kings" was not the only occasion for the street festivals of the *cabildos*, although during recent years they have been confined to this day. Formerly, during the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the eighth day of September, the *cabildos* gathered at the hermitage, to-day the parish, of Monserrate. Rosainz, in an article on this church (1881), wrote:

> Also this hermitage gave protection to the class *of color*. With their *cabildos* of Araráes, Lucumíes, Congos, et cetera, and their banners flying, they resorted to it on the day of our Señora de Regla," most of the negroes being dressed in their Sunday clothes, the "leaders" or "kings" of the *cabildos* wearing broad sashes and using canes, some of them costly, of heavy East India wood; most of them with a handful of silver. The Ethiopian women were dressed with luxury and elegance, displaying great umbrellas and costly parasols.

In the description of the carnival given by Texier[30] may still be observed a remarkable likeness to the old Afro-Cuban Saturnals.

As may be seen, by their associations or *cabildos* the negroes tried to revive in Cuba the life of their country in its most important respects, which the infantile psyche of the negro could not forget. Even to-day, after many years have passed since the "day of the kings" was devoted to the Bacchanals of the negroes, I have seen the face of one or another old negress light up childishly in speaking of the "day of the kings," and she even attempted, with that acute emotivity that is characteristic of the negroes, certain notes of the *national tango*, thus muttering unintelligible words suggested by my evocation, which caused her to go back to a happy time of the few days that had left traces in her life.

Se agita, se vuelve loco
Bramando como un león.
Márchanse luego y repiten
Sus bailes, si los permiten,
De una u otra reja al pie,
Y de tan loca alegría
A cualquier ora del día
El mismo cuadro se ve.

[30]Work quoted, page 49.

II

THE ORIGIN OF THE FESTIVAL

THE "DIABLITOS"

Why was this festival called that of the *diablitos?* Perhaps because when it became necessary for the whites to give it a name they found in the motley make-up of the Africans, in their capers and antics, in their horns and masks, a certain analogy to the *diablitos* or devil masks that usually formed a part of the Catholic processions of Corpus Christi in Cuba, as in Spain and other countries. These mystical masqueraders were called *diablitos* in Cuba, as may be seen in Pérez y Luna, and the African gentilitious monstrosities therefore would perhaps be called *diablitos*.[31]

What is the origin of the festival of the "day of the kings?"

In an article published in *El Museo* (January 7, 1883), it is said that the name "festival of the kings" was applied because the *cabildos* had an elective *king* and *queen*. This opinion seems childish to me.

[31]Rafael Félix Pérez y Luna: *Historia de Sancti Spiritus*, 1888, page 411.—Even for the Catholic church, the "day of the kings" was one of ritual mirth and libertinage. In many festivals of Catholic rejoicing, and, be it said at once, at Epiphany, there were sung in the churches the words of several songs of popular poetry that had been used in the comic theaters, set to sacred music . . . in the same way as have been sung the *zarambeque* and the "I Am Lonely." . . . In the same way are sung *jácaras* and the *Encaramán*, and all the lascivious *seguidillas* that are sung in comedy.—*Papeles de la Inquisición*, volume 41, bundle 11, quoted by the señor Paz y Melia in the Introduction to the *Sales españolas*.

The author of the latter book heard played, several years, during the festivity that was devoted to the "day of the kings," in a certain Catholic cathedral, and during the offertory of the solemn mass, the "*Jota* [a dance] of the Three Rats," from *La gran vía*, with an accompaniment of castanets and tambourines.—Author's Note.

The *zarambeque* is a lively tune and dance of the negroes; *jácaras* are romances, that is, rustic tunes for singing and dancing, or they are dances.—THE EDITOR.

I have been told verbally that the negroes celebrated the Magi king Melchior, a saint they had adopted as their celestial patron because he was apparently of their race. There may be some foundation for this opinion, if we remember that even to-day there exist in Cuba associations of negroes, under the advocation of this saint—such as the society that bears as a title, *Congos reales del santo rey Melchior* (Royal Congos of the Holy King Melchior). Nevertheless, it is nothing more than a supposition without any solid foundation.

Bachiller y Morales[32] confesses that he could not ascertain the origin of the festival mentioned, but he supposed that the negroes, when they saw the troops asking for an *aguinaldo* on the "day of the kings," with whistles, tambourines and cornets, imitated them. Why, however, this imitation? Why did the authorities tolerate it until it came to be a deeply rooted annual festival in Habana? I think I can deduce the reason from what was written by Bachiller y Morales himself:

> The days of the sacred kings, from time immemorial, afforded in the colonies of Spain in the Indies an occasion to pay to the Spanish viceroys and chiefs the respect and consideration paid to majesty, which they represented in the Indies.[33]

He says also that the troops on this day besought *aguinaldos*, just as it is a custom to give them to children while telling them that the Magi kings have brought them the gifts. The same author, in the article already cited,[34] says: "'the slaves of the king,'"[35] which were many throughout America, gathered to ask for *aguinaldos* from the representative of their master." This last sentence is sufficient to explain the origin of the festival. In time, the other slaves would have recourse to it, stimulated perhaps by the governors themselves, who thus found a means of keeping up a pupular festival, and of winning the sympathy of the slaves in general, of whose attachment they were never very certain, as has already been said. The subsequent prohibition of the formation of *cabildos* and of gathering at the palace in quest of an *aguinaldo* on the part of negroes that were not so *by nation*, that is, from Africa, is a proof that this was the origin of the feast under discussion. On the other hand, slaves also of other American countries celebrated their festival on the day of the distribution of *aguinaldos* by their masters. Thus, according to Bachiller y Morales, the negro Bacchanal occurred on Christmas day and New Year's day in the English colonies.[36] See, besides, what he says regarding this festival in Santiago, Chile.

What Torquemada says doubtless relates to this:

> In 1609, there were in México a riot and a rumor of a rising of the negroes, to the effect that on the "night of the kings" many of them had gathered and had elected a king . . . the truth being investigated, it was found to be wholly a *thing of the negroes* . . . and as there was nothing in it, I will not relate the many foolish occurrences that they say took place among them that night.[37]

In spite of what has been set forth, certainly another African contributory cause gave a new reason for being to the popular festival of the "day of the kings." Binger[38] discussed the groups of *dus*, masked negroes dressed in a manner similar to the *diablitos*, who went through the villages and the country frightening the timid, getting drunk on the liquor that was set out for them gratuitously by the public. . . . At night and at dawn, the men followed the *dus* singing in a loud voice. These excursions of the *dus* rarely took place, and Binger thought he could affirm that they occurred principally at the beginning of winter for the purpose of frightening away the evil spirits and of causing it to rain, and the same traveler said, furthermore, that he had found similar customs among the

[32] *Los negros*, Barcelona, page 114.

[33] Work cited, page 113.

[34] "Tipos y costumbres," et cetera, page 13.

[35] In Habana they occupied, from 1765, some shacks, near San Isidro: they were called the "stockade of the negroes of the king."

[36] The Congos celebrated their annual festival on Christmas day in Sagua la Grande (Cuba), I am informed.

[37] Torquemada: *Monarquía indiana*, volume I, book 5, chapter 76.

[38] *Du Niger au golfe de Guinée, par le pays de Kong et le Mossi*, Paris, 1892, volume I, page 378.

Bambaras and the Malinkes, of upper Senegal, and the Kasonkes, but that the office of these maskers was merely to divert. Like the latter must have been the *mokho missi ku*, a kind of negro clown mentioned by the same writer.[39]

Masked negroes simulating *Egugú* also appeared annually in the villages.[40]

So was it also in the Congo, for the purpose of taking up collections in the name of religion.[41]

The description of certain religious festivals of the Bambaras causes us to imagine a "day of the kings" in Africa.[42] In the museum of the Palais du Trocadéro, in Paris, may be seen certain Bambara *diablitos*, very similar to the *diablito* of the ñáñigos, dressed in satin and feathers and wearing on their heads long, sharp-pointed, conical ornaments, also of cloth and feathers.

From Nigeria[43] are reported frequent festivals, especially those of a religious character, like the annual devil-drivings.[44] We find allusions to this festival in 1844, in which the people are depicted as in a complete state of drunkenness and frenzy. The sorcerer marches at the head, sprinkling water on the multitude, some of whom discharge firearms, others beat tom-toms, others blow flutes, some go about covered with the skins of beasts, others with hats of the most fantastic shapes, and all seem bent on making the greatest possible noise. A similar feast is that of the *beginning of the year*, marked by dances, masks, music, shouting, drunkenness. . . .

Other very similar feats are observed in different countries of western Africa.[45] It is proper to say that there is no African people that does not celebrate these noisy festivals in the full moons and at the end of the harvest, in the solstices and on new year's day, et cetera. The enumeration would be long and tiresome. All these Bacchanals were concentrated in Cuba in the only festival that was permitted them: the "day of the kings."

In these festivals, in these dancers and pantomimists, and especially in these *dus*, who, without being priests, possess somewhat of the sacerdotal character, who are so like the *diablitos* and who celebrate their festival at the beginning of winter, may there not be found another source of the negro festival of the "day of the kings" in Cuba? When winter had hardly begun, that is, on Christmas or New Year's day, this festival was celebrated in the English colonies. The changing of the festival in Cuba to the sixth of January might be explained on the ground of the distribution of *aguinaldos* to the troops and to the slaves of the king on that day. Also, as soon as winter begins, that is, on Christmas Eve, there occurs in Gorée and Saint Louis (Senegambia) a carnivalistic festival of which I shall soon speak. At all events, if the African precedents set forth and many other similar ones gathered by travelers in western Africa did not influence in the celebration of the festival of the kings in Cuba, at least they contributed to determine its form. At the start, each *cabildo* must have revived the most important festivals of its native land; later, all of them must have become slowly mingled until they reached the confusion and disorder of later times.

III

SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE "DAY OF THE KINGS"

I think it will not be idle to enlarge yet further on the subject in order to study the social significance of this festival of the Afro-Cubans. I have said that it was the *carnival* of the negroes, and this word must be taken in its proper sense. It is not that the negroes copied or imitated the carnival of the whites; no; it is that whites and blacks, that all people, have their carnival, that noisy and orgiastic festival that remains deeply rooted in the popular consciousness, as ancient religious rituals are rooted there, and resist the action of time; also precisely because the

[39] Work quoted, page 106.

[40] A. B. Ellis: *The Land of Fetish*, page 168.

[41] *Epedição portugueza â Muatianurra*, page 235.

[42] Abbé Joseph Henry: *L'âme d'un peuple africaine: les bambara.*

[43] A. J. N. Tremearne: *The Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*, London, 1912.

[44] English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

[45] E. Noirot: work quoted, page 51.

carnival is a survival with a profoundly religious significance.

THE "CARNIVAL" OF THE NEGROES

The sociological theory of the carnival, after the profound studies of Frazer[46] in England, and of Mannhardt in Germany, occupies a very firm position, even if it be not the definitive one. I shall give but a very brief résumé of it, while referring the reader to the works of the authors mentioned.

Among all primitive peoples, the phenomena of the successive seasons of the year have been the source of different rites: rites that go to the extreme of the ritual homicide—real or symbolic—of the gods, kings, priests, et cetera, on whom, it is supposed, depend the natural phenomena, especially those of vegetation. If these personages were not killed, animal and vegetable life, connected with their existence by ties of sympathetic magic, would be disturbed in its normal course. These rites are still to be found in Africa, America and Europe, flourishing in all their vigor and primitive meaning, or in hazy and derivative survivals. Carnival Sunday and the death of the carnival, the hanging of the manikins named Judas, et cetera, for example, are European vernal customs that are derived from such millenary rites. The quaresmal rite of the passion and death of Jesus Christ corresponds, likewise, in part, to these universal conceptions of every period and place.

The meaning of these rites is at times very clear: the spirit of the dead vegetation is killed and buried in winter.

Sometimes the correlative rites of the resurrection of the new vegetation, of nature awakening in spring,[47] are celebrated subsequently to those just mentioned.

These festivals are celebrated at the beginning of the year, whether on what we call *Christmas Eve, New Year's day*, the "day of the kings," et cetera, which the people fix on as the opening of the year in the winter solstice, or whether in March, or in seed time, in the vernal equinox, when certain peoples make the year begin; therefore, although we encounter these carnivals among different peoples at these two seasons of the year, strictly speaking, they express merely the religious solemnity of the new year. In Cuba, the whites, who cling to the ancient carnivalesque tradition of the European religions, celebrate their mystical festivals about the vernal equinox. The negroes, who reflect in this land their carnivalesque rites of the winter solstice, choose *Christmas Eve* and *Epiphany* for their festival. The Roman Saturnalias were celebrated, following the seasons of Rome, in December and March, according as the solar year would begin at one or the other astronomical moment.

It is true that in our now vanished "day of the kings" we find precise details that reveal to us this carnivalesque origin and the survival in Cuba of rites similar to those mentioned, of certain age-old habits from beyond the seas. So, on the "day of the kings" in Habana, as in the Saturnalias of ancient Rome, during those festivals the slaves enjoyed complete liberty, with no other authority than that of their own burlesque kings, chosen by themselves.

The same thing happens among certain negroes of the coast of Guinea. During the annual festival celebrated for the expulsion of the evil spirits, the invectives of the slaves and of the humbler classes of the population against their kings and superiors are perfectly authorized. They speak with impunity of the faults and rascalities of their chiefs without any one's being able to interrupt and punish them. Their liberty is complete.[48] The same thing happens among negroes far removed from Guinea, such as the Zulus. The latter celebrated their new year with a feast that "resembles a Saturnalia; much noise is made, and there is dancing; those that

[46] Sir James George Frazer, *Le rameau d'or*, Paris, 1908, volume II.—All this volume of the now famous work of Frazer (*The Golden Bough*) is devoted to this very interesting and astonishingly documented theory. See, besides, the work of Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Antike Wald und Feldkulte aus nordeuropäischer Überlieferung erläutert*, Berlin, 1905.

[47] The resurrection of Christian dogma, the ritual Lent, et cetera, are ancestral religious ideas that reflect this theory intensely. They are the *carnivals* of the Christian religions, just as the festival that is to-day called the *carnival* is a survival of the pagan prechristian carnivals preserved folklorically.

[48] Bofman, cited by J. G. Frazer: work quoted, volume II, page 318.

take part in the feast are not held responsible, either for what they say or for what they do." Even the king himself, clothed with grasses, executes a number of dances.[49] More radical still are the annual festivals of the Pondo negroes.[50] During these festivals, all the members of the tribe give themselves over to the orgy, get drunk and raise no end of a disturbance; the king temporarily renounces his authority and every one does as he pleases, even to committing crimes against persons, property or sex, without any one's being able to establish order. Even the chief is insulted with impunity, when normally such conduct would be punished by immediate death.

These martial or *combat* dances that I have already mentioned, and that appeared in our "day of the kings," may easily relate to the so-called agrarian *combats* between winter and summer, characteristic of the carnivalesque ritual of primitive peoples.[51]

THE "DANCE OF THE SNAKE"

Finally, another typical scene of the "day of the kings" was that of killing the snake. This was a dance of the rabble, according to Pichardo; rather, it may be said, it was a dance of ritual pantomime. A body of negroes, leaping, dancing and singing, bore on their shoulders through the streets of Habana an enormous artificial snake, several meters in length, stopping in front of the houses, from which they received *aguinaldos*. The scene enacted the death of the serpent and the celebration of its characteristics.

And look at his eyes; they seem to be candles;
And look at his teeth; they seem to be pins.[52]

The snake being stretched on the ground, they danced about it, singing to it, and ending thus:

For the serpent now is dead . . .
Calabasón, son, son. . . .[53]

According to Bachiller y Morales,[54] they used to end thus:

The serpent is dead,
Sángala, muleque.[55]

This pantomime was very popular, and on the "day of the kings," after making the rounds of Habana, it was executed in the court of the palace of the captains-general, in the presence of the supreme authority. So then, this ophiolatrous scene is characteristic of many of the carnivals of Africa, Asia and other continents.

Confining myself to the most precise African antecedents, I shall recall that a similar ceremony was celebrated annually among the negroes of the Spanish island of Fernando Po, where, every year, after killing an enormous serpent, they hung its skin from the largest tree of the public park, with great ceremonies.[56] Frazer, after giving many examples of the ritual death of animals, concludes with this résumé:

The sacred animal is killed once a year, with great solemnity. Before or immediately after its death, it is taken around from door to door, that all the worshipers may receive a part of the divine potency that is said to emanate from the body of the dead or dying god.[57]

These zoölatric deaths are frequent among primitive peoples, and Frazer asserts that, in the prehistoric period, processions must have been practised in Europe, to judge by their numerous survivals.

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[49] J. MacDonald: *Light in Africa*, London, page 216.

[50] J. MacDonald: *Religion and Myth*, page 136.

[51] Frazer: work quoted, volume II, pages 99 and following.—Our *carnivalesque combats* of serpentines and confetti and eggs filled with flour are the last survivals of these primitive ritual combats. The intense sensualism of our carnival shows also a precise derivation from those very ancient but persistent rites.

[52] *Y mírale los ojos, parecen candela;*
Y mírale los dientes, parecen filé [alfileres].

[53] *Que la culebra se murió* . . .
Calabasón, son, son. . . .
Calabasón, although derived doubtless from *calabaza*, "calabash," "gourd," "squash," is meaningless here, and it is introduced merely for the sound in connection with *son, son* also meaningless.—THE EDITOR.

[54] *Los negros*, page 117.

[55] *La culebra se murió* . . .
Sángala, muleque.
These two words of the negroes—*sángala, muleque*—mean, in the jargon of the coast of the slave traders: *Aguardiente, muchacho* [Rum, boy].

[56] T. J. Hutchinson: *Impressions of Western Africa*, London, 1858.

[57] Work quoted, volume II, page 220.
As we have not been able to locate the passage in Frazer's work, we have been compelled to translate back into English from the Spanish version of the author of the article.—THE EDITOR.

RELIGIOUS SURVIVALS

The serpent, the monstrous dragon or *tarasca*,[58] still figures in the *processions of Corpus Christi* among many of the Catholic peoples of Europe. The death of the serpent or dragon—of the sacred animal, in short—is a rite that survives in the carnivals of many peoples, according to Reinach,[59] According to Doutté, following Frazer, in these so widely diffused pantomimes—primitive and very old—of the death of the sacred animal or of the agrarian god, is to be found the origin of the dramatic art.

It is not puerile to affirm therefore that the Afro-Cubans, in "killing the serpent," unconsciously celebrated an ancestral rite, very deeply rooted in almost all peoples and continents.

To all these characteristics, unite the characteristic of extreme noisiness, as the primitive carnivals ritually are, to frighten away the spirits of dead things, and see how the "day of the kings" was but an amalgam and refusion of a multitude of African scenes and rites of unknown and forgotten meaning, which contemporary sociology tries to explain to-day. It was, in short, the *carnival of the negroes*, in the mythical sense that may be imparted to this word by a serene and authoritatively scientific interpretation.

[58]Derived from the French *tarasque*, from the city of Tarascon: the figure of an enormous serpent.—THE EDITOR.

[59]Work mentioned, volume I, page 19.—See Also Edward Doutté in his notable book, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord*, Algiers, 1909, pages 498, 533.

A STRANGE SUICIDE[1]

BY

CAMI

SCENE I

A Dead Man That Speaks

The scene is laid in the consulting room of Loufock-Holmes.

The Unknown Visitor (*entering*). Señor: I have come to submit to your brilliant deductive talent my mysterious and inexplicable situation. For the last ten years I have practised the profession of an executioner of sardines.

Loufock-Holmes. An executioner of sardines?

The Unknown Visitor. Yes; as executioner in a canning factory. I was appointed to decapitate sardines before putting them in the tins. From seeing heads fall I became neurasthenic. I resolved to commit suicide. Before continuing my story, permit me to ask a question. Am I visible to the naked eye?

Loufock-Holmes. Perfectly visible. As for the rest, it is very natural.

The Unknown Visitor. You will not say that it is natural when you know that I have been dead for about two hours.

Loufock-Holmes. What did you say?

The Unknown Visitor. I say that this morning I carried out my plan of committing suicide. With the aid of a strong rope I hanged myself from the ceiling of my dining-room at number 6, Calle de Tombe-Issoire.

Loufock-Holmes. Since you are here, that is impossible.

The Unknown Visitor. Nevertheless, it is true. At this very moment I am hanging in my house, and, at the same time, I am present here.

Loufock-Holmes. All this is very strange. I am going to hasten to your domicile to ascertain for myself whether it be true that you are hanging from the ceiling of your dining-room. I should say at once that you have been the victim of a hallucination. You will wait here in the company of my faithful pupil.

SCENE II

The Absent-Minded Suicide

The same surroundings.

Loufock-Holmes (*returning*). You were right, señor. Your body is, indeed, hanging from the ceiling of your dining-room.

The Unknown Visitor (*horrified*). Then . . . who am I? Who am I?

Loufock-Holmes. Calm yourself. On the way I made my deductions. Without a doubt, you are the spirit of the body hanging in your house. You became rematerialized immediately after your suicide, and you have assumed the appearance and dress of the body that you have just abandoned. However, my attention was attracted by one detail.

The Unknown Visitor (*with eagerness*). What detail?

Loufock-Holmes. You are wearing black boots, and the body hanging in your house has on yellow boots.

The Unknown Visitor. Yellow! You said yellow?

Loufock-Holmes. Yes; yellow. I have come to the conclusion. . . .

The Unknown Visitor. Go to the devil with your conclusions! Now I understand it all! I am an assassin!

Loufock-Holmes. An assassin?

The Unknown Visitor. Yes. I lived with my twin brother. Apart from our boots, we resembled each other in a startling manner. Then the question is simple enough: instead of putting the rope around my own neck, I made a mistake and . . .

Loufock-Holmes. You passed it around the neck of your señor brother.

The Unknown Visitor. Yes. I mistook my twin brother for myself. Thinking to hang myself, I hung him. How absent-minded I am!

[1]This supposed incident was sent us by an Argentine friend. It was taken from an Argentine newspaper or magazine, but the sender neglected to indicate the source. We therefore translate and publish it without being able to give due credit.—The Editor.

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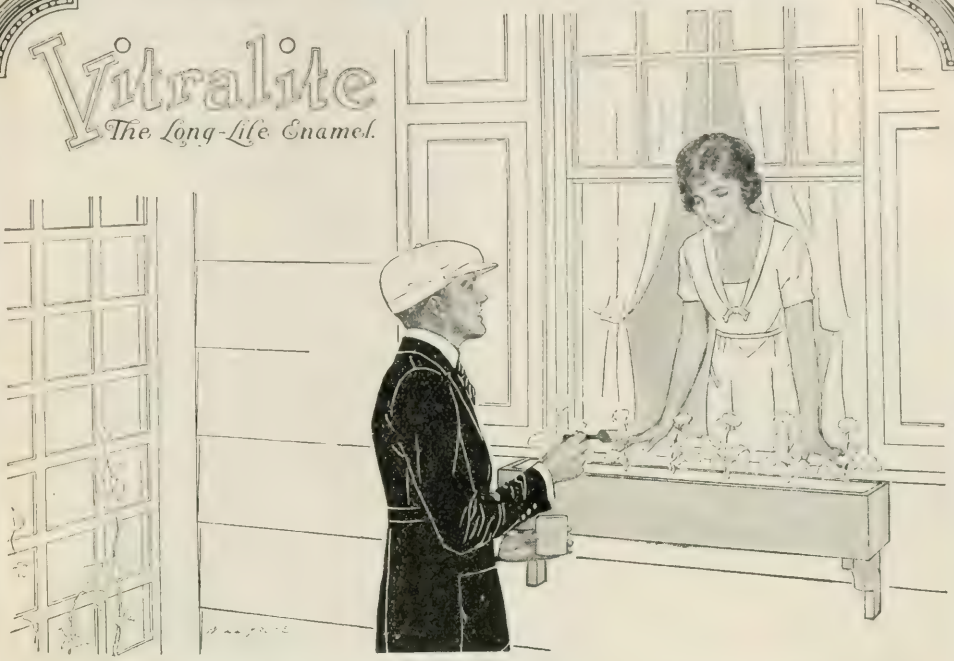

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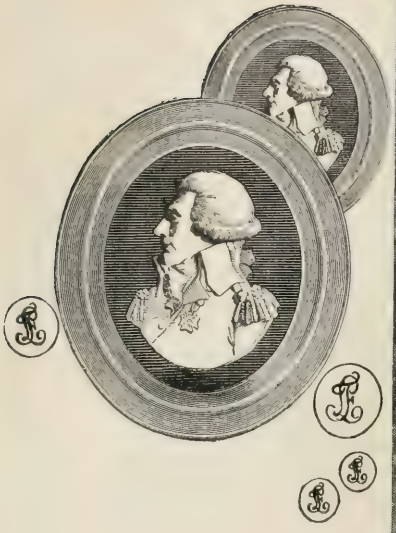


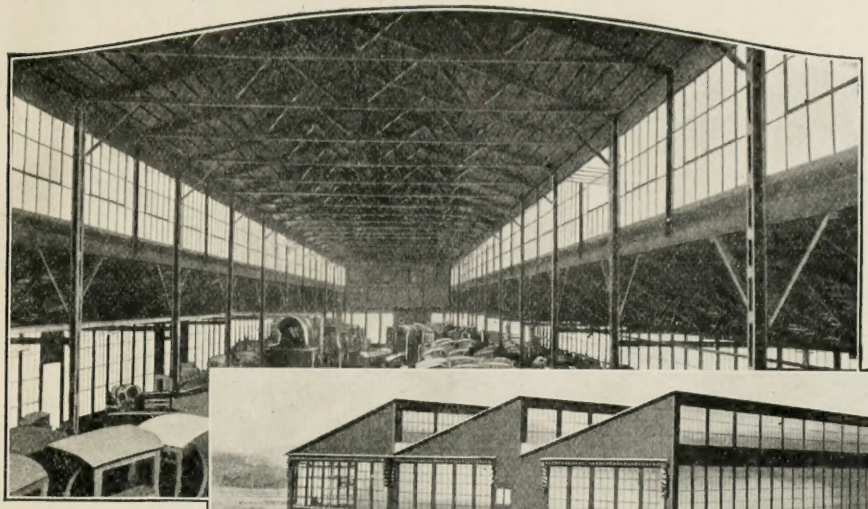
LAFAYETTE

IF OUR CAR is as good as we believe it is or as good as owners tell us, that is because we have not once swerved from the purpose with which we started—to build the finest automobile we could, putting into its structure, without thought of cost, all that honest metal could give and that devoted workmanship could avail

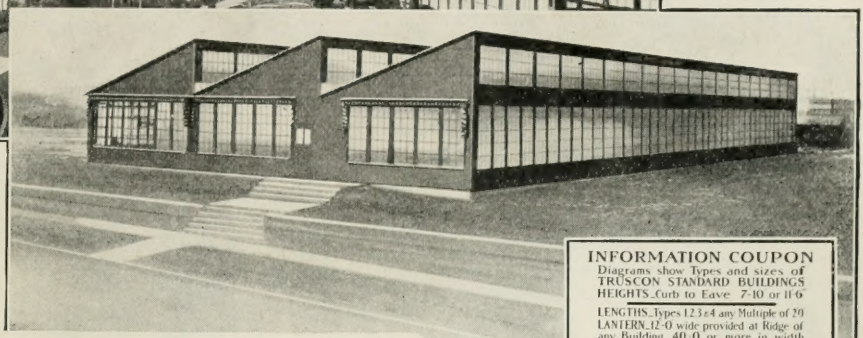
Road weight of Touring Car, with spare tire and full tanks of fuel and water, 4180 pounds

LaFayette Open Cars, $5625 at Indianapolis

LAFAYETTE MOTORS COMPANY at *Mars Hill* INDIANAPOLIS



Interior view Truscon Standard Building—Continental Car Co., of America, Louisville, Kentucky



Exterior view Truscon Standard Building—Sunnyhome Electric Co., Detroit, Mich.

The ALL GLASS and STEEL BUILDING

The daylight types of Truscon Standard Buildings possess every requirement demanded for the ideal modern factory. These buildings are built entirely of glass and steel—every nook and corner is flooded with daylight—the ventilation is perfect at all times.

All types are easily heated.

They provide all features that make for the comfort and increased productive efficiency of workers. The results which Truscon Standard Buildings produce can be measured by greater output, better workmanship, less spoilage, and reduced lighting bills.

Truscon Standard Buildings are the most economical kind of permanent construction. Erection costs are low. Built entirely of steel panels, steel sash and steel units, the sections can be easily and quickly handled. These buildings can be enlarged or taken down and re-erected in a new location without loss at 100% salvage value.

Sidewalls and roof are manufactured from Truscon Alloy Steel which has proven its superior durability and permanence by exposure tests over a period of years.

Many types of daylight buildings are furnished, including monitor, sawtooth and hip roof types with lantern. They may be had in practically every size.

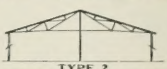
Return coupon to-day, checking the size and the purpose of the building which you require

TRUSCON STEEL COMPANY
Youngstown, Ohio
Warehouses and Sales Offices in Principal Cities

INFORMATION COUPON

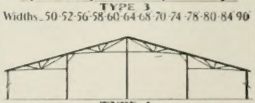
Diagrams show Types and sizes of TRUSCON STANDARD BUILDINGS
HEIGHTS—Curb to Eave 7-10 or 11-6
LENGTHS—Types 1, 2, 3 & 4 any Multiple of 20
LANTERN—12-0 wide provided at Ridge of any Building 40-0 or more in width

TYPE 1
Widths—6-8-10-12-16-18-20-24-28-30-40-50-60



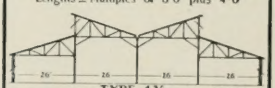
TYPE 2
Widths—40-50 or 60

TYPE 3
Widths—50-52-56-58-60-64-68-70-74-78-80-84-90

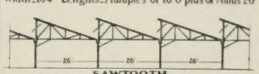


TYPE 4
Widths—80 or 100 *(4 Bays @ 20 or 25')*

TYPES 3M & 3MS
Widths 60-64-68-70-74-80-84-90-92-100-102-110-112-120
Lengths—Multiples of 8-0 plus 4-0



TYPE 4V
Width-104 Lengths-Multiples of 16-0 plus or Minus 20'



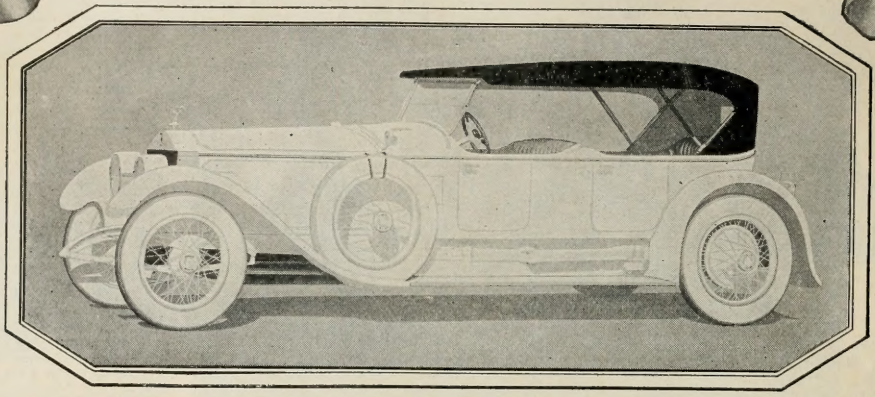
SAWTOOTH
Widths—Any Multiple of 26-0"
Lengths—Multiples of 16-0 plus or minus 2-0"

Truscon Steel Company, Youngstown, Ohio
Send Catalog and Information on Truscon Standard Buildings. Type _____ Width _____ ft.,
Length _____ ft., Height _____ ft.
To be used for _____
Name _____
Address _____

TRUSCON
STANDARD BUILDINGS

TRUSCON STEEL CO.

PROOF OF SUPERIORITY



The

ROLLS-ROYCE

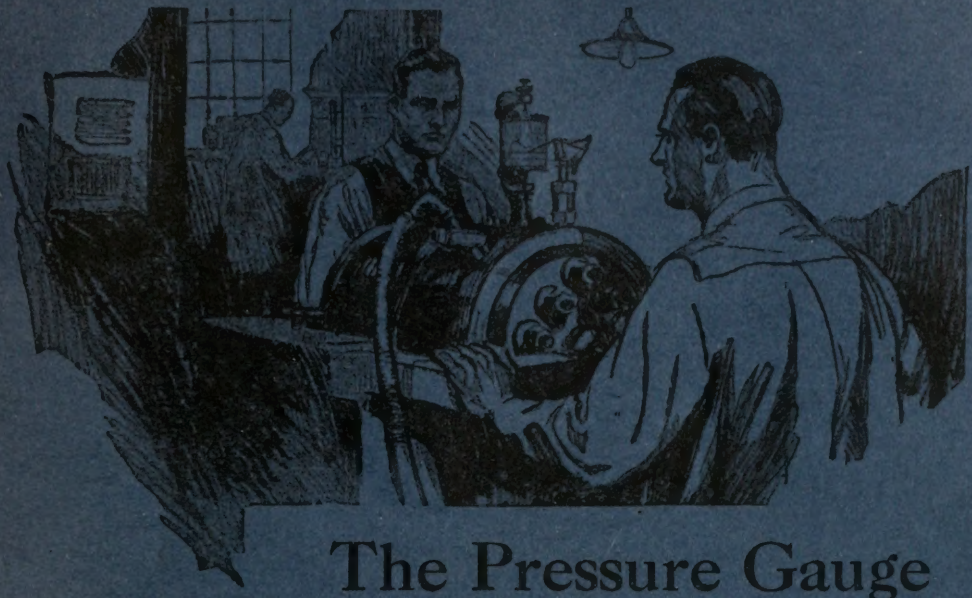
would not be the Rolls-Royce if
cost were permitted to restrict
the choice of materials.

Genuine

TRADE **Pantasote** MARK

Top Material
has been selected
for this car

THE PANTASOTE COMPANY
11 BROADWAY NEW YORK CITY



The Pressure Gauge

Out of the thousands of men who use Hercules Dynamite daily probably very few ever think of the experimental work that is done to make this dynamite meet their needs exactly. Yet this work is of vital importance in the maintenance of high standards.

In one of the laboratories of the Hercules Experimental Station at Kenvil, N. J., stands a massive steel cylinder with a door at one end resembling the breech block of a 12-inch gun. This machine is called a pressure gauge.

By accurately measuring the pressure of the gases developed by the explosion of a small charge of dynamite within the cylinder, the pressure gauge provides one test for determining the strength of that explosive. These gases can be drawn off and analyzed. This analysis is highly important because for work underground, in confined spaces, an explosive must not only provide power to tear down the materials, but it must do so by producing gases non-injurious to those who inhale them. Moreover, the character of the gases indicates whether the explosive tested was made on a formula so balanced that all ingredients contribute fully towards a useful purpose, or, as the chemist would say, whether detonation and combustion were complete.

The Hercules Powder Co. is constantly conducting these tests in the development of new explosives. It is by virtue of such research—this strict verification of the properties of every explosive bearing the name Hercules—that the miner, the quarryman, the farmer and the engineer can depend upon Hercules Products to carry on the constructive work that sustains our industrial life.

HERCULES

Explosives
Chemicals
Naval Stores

HERCULES POWDER CO.

Chicago	Salt Lake City	Chattanooga	Hazleton, Pa.
Pittsburg, Kan.	Pittsburgh, Pa.	St. Louis	Joplin
San Francisco	New York	Denver	Wilmington, Del.

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The pocket-size volumes of the New Century Library (Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York) would delight the maker of the Aldines. For in these India-paper editions of standard authors the influence of William Morris's gothic mediaevalism on typography has given way to a more lucid style, traceable to the classic models of Italy. And for the sake of that compactness Aldus valued so highly in printed books, Warren's India would appeal to him as a tremendous improvement over fifteenth-century printing papers.

S. D. WARREN COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.